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OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT THEOLOGY.

BY

HEINRICH EWALD,

LATE PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GÖTTINGEN; AUTHOR OF "THE HISTORY OF ISRAEL," "PROPHETS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT," ETC.

Translated from the German

BY THE

REV. THOMAS GOADBY, B.A.,

PRESIDENT OF THE BAPTIST COLLEGE, NOTTINGHAM.

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

—o—

THE selections from Ewald's *Die Lehre der Bibel von Gott*, of which this volume is composed, are published as a contribution to Biblical Theology. As more than a contribution they cannot be regarded, nor indeed can Ewald's whole work. For the purposes of Biblical Theology there needs first of all adequate Biblical scholarship, true spiritual insight, and a vivid historical sense, all of which Ewald conspicuously possessed; but there needs also a conscientious and resolute determination to give prominence in exposition only to that which the Scripture itself makes prominent, which can hardly be claimed as belonging to Ewald, at least in the same degree. Certain dogmatic, or as they may be termed cosmical, mystical, and even philosophical presuppositions, in addition to well-known critical theories, are perhaps somewhat too obvious in these pages; while the bold, original, and independent way of handling all doctrinal questions, so characteristic of Ewald, but not necessarily demanded by the subject, may fail to create in other minds the confidence of his own. Nevertheless to those who know how to use it, this *Old and New Testament Theology*, like *Revelation; its Nature and Record*, as portions of a work containing the ripe result of the lifelong thought of one of the ablest and foremost of the Biblical scholars of this century, will be of great and abiding value, and will appropriately supplement other works in the same province of a different type.

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The importance of this branch of theological study is only just beginning to be realized amongst ourselves, although for some years it has received special attention and occupied the place of a special "discipline" in the Universities of Germany. At present there is absolutely no original work in the English language dealing with the theology of Scripture from a purely historical and critical point of view. It is eminently desirable that some competent scholar and theologian of Great Britain should undertake to familiarize the mind of our time, not only with the idea but also with the results of the study of Biblical doctrine in its origin and historical development. The old systematic theology, if not discredited, is at least suffering loss, and possibly perversion, from the want of a sound critical and scientific basis. That in all its vital and essential elements it will retain or recover its hold upon the faith and conviction of mankind cannot reasonably be doubted. But this desirable result will be secured only by a thorough and careful study of Scripture according to modern scientific method, and a fuller realization of Scripture truth in the light of our present historical and scientific knowledge. To this end Biblical Theology will lend its powerful aid; and writers like Ewald will be studied with profit and advantage. All his conclusions may not be accepted; but his scholarship, his method of inquiry, his spirit of earnest faith, and his fervid and even youthful enthusiasm may at least be appreciated. Here and there in these selections it may possibly appear that a position is assumed which it is difficult to concede. Sometimes philosophy and mysticism may seem more prominent than theology. Occasionally, as for instance when Darwin and his imitators are spoken of, there is a severity of tone which is surprising in one who, more than any other Biblical scholar, reminds us of Darwin and his theory of evolution, and especially of his patient and exact method of inquiry and research. This severity would be inexplicable were it not remembered what reckless and unscrupulous writers, both in

England and Germany, have sheltered themselves under Darwin's name without possessing anything of his spirit.

But whatever deficiencies may be discovered in Ewald's discussions, there is no irreverence, there is no wanton trifling with the deepest questions of life and religious experience. High moral earnestness, a profound love of truth and Holy Scripture, and a glowing spirit of faith, mark every page of Ewald's writings. In the exposition of Paul's view of the Atonement of Christ, the most zealous evangelical theologian could not be more explicit. Upon the question of the whole future of man as it is set forth in Scripture, so complete and exhaustive a presentation as is to be found in the closing chapters is hardly elsewhere obtainable; although the speculative view of the final annihilation of evil may be considered extra-Biblical. In the discussion of the sources of doctrine in Scripture, of the narratives of creation, of the whole subject of angelology, of the end and aim of human history, of miracles, and of faith in its various aspects, Ewald's remarks have a vigorous freshness and originality unsurpassed in modern theological literature. Upon some other subjects there is probably less of definiteness and fulness. But the study of Ewald, we repeat, is commended, not so much for his results as for his keenness and assiduity in research, for his ample and varied learning, and above all for his historical and critical, and so far purely scientific method. The translator hopes shortly to present English readers with an analysis of the whole work, especially for the use of students.

As to the title of this volume, and the numbering of the sections or paragraphs, a word of explanation may perhaps be necessary. The original work is entitled, *Die Lehre der Bibel von Gott, oder Theologie des Alten und Neuen Bundes,* and consists of four volumes. The first volume discusses "The Doctrine of the Word of God;" and a translation of the substance of it, omitting only the general introduction, has already been published under the title of *Revelation; its Nature and Record.* The second and third volumes discuss

"The Doctrine of God and the Universe," and from these volumes the present selection has been made, Ewald's alternative title of the whole work, *Old and New Testament Theology*, being adopted. The fourth volume, as yet untranslated, deals with "The Doctrine of the Life of Man" and "of the Kingdom of God," and is a treatise on Christian Ethics and on the nature of the Church, Jewish and Christian, and the relation of the Church and the State, especially in Biblical times. The whole work is regarded by Ewald as one continuous treatise and numbered in consecutive sections; and this original arrangement it has been thought advisable to retain for convenience of reference. This will account for the present volume, distinct though it is in subject, commencing with § 143. The references in the notes to the author's *History of Israel* and *Commentaries on the Prophets, on Job,* and the *Psalms,* have been adapted to the English translations. The notes in square brackets [ ] are added by the translator.

NOTTINGHAM, 1888.

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OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT THEOLOGY.

I. THE DOCTRINAL ELEMENT IN THE BIBLE.

§ 143. I. THE transition from the question of revelation itself to that of the doctrines of the Bible suggests, first of all, the inquiry how far and to what extent it is possible to present such doctrines in the form of a system, or to give a summary of them, consisting as they do of very numerous and very varied details. For difficulties meet us in the outset, and are readily perceived, inasmuch as we know from our previous investigations that the Bible is not a single book, not an absolute sharply-defined and exclusive whole. Moreover, such difficulties accumulate in our path the more earnestly we undertake the task, the more fully the Bible is known, and the more fairly and without prejudice it is estimated in all its minutest contents and most important principles. These difficulties may be said to arise from two opposite sources.

1. On the one hand, the Bible contains in such unusual abundance sayings, thoughts, narratives, by such different authors, of such different periods of time, that it might from the first seem quite impossible to discover therein a complete and consistent system of doctrine. That it is a difficult task to harmonize the contents of the Old and New Testaments is obvious and readily acknowledged; indeed, so much has this been felt in past times, that in the attempts, and still more in the achievements, of different schools many considerable and

even pernicious errors have arisen. As to the main chief parts of the first or the second half of the Bible, for example, how utterly at variance with the Pentateuch, even to the point of irreconcilability, seem to be many of the utterances of the prophetic books; and then, again, how divergent are many things in the Epistles or the Apocalypse from what we find in the Gospels! More particularly still, in the separate portions of each division of the Old and New Testaments what differences appear, differences of prophet with prophet, of Epistle with Epistle, of Gospel with Gospel, even to the verge of contradiction! Nor is this all. Not only are seeming incongruities found in the larger portions of the Bible, upon closer inspection they extend to individual books and minutest details. Moreover, such apparent contradictions, whether unimportant or serious, are in our day the more widely disclosed and the less possible to be overlooked, the more investigation is carefully directed to every detail in the Bible, until it is traced back to its original form, and known with unquestionable certainty.

It is, however, clear enough that most of the contradictions found in the Bible, so far as they immediately relate to questions of doctrine, are found in it only by mistaken exegesis, or are regarded as far more important and irreconcilable than in point of fact they are. As to contradictions in numbers or in historical references, these are explained by the compilation of our present Bible from different sources, by the origin of the earlier records, and by erroneous readings which have crept into the text; here, however, our concern is with doctrine alone. And here, alas! it is not merely the many confused and isolated threads of somewhat casual errors that obtrude themselves upon notice; radically perverse tendencies of the human mind have applied themselves to the Bible, not infrequently with the predisposition and artful purpose to discover as many irreconcilable contradictions as possible, and publish them to the world. This has happened not merely in ancient

and mediæval times, when the light of knowledge was more restricted and the warm glow of faith loved to concentrate itself one-sidedly upon this or that portion of Scripture; it is not less observable in our own days, as, for instance, in the serpent-like twistings and convolutions of the school of Strauss and Baur, although these are days when we boast, and justly, of honest inquiry and enlightened science. To scatter the allusions of such mistakenly-alleged contradictions, whether slighter or more considerable, there will be opportunity enough in this work; indeed, the whole of our better science by its very existence and labours has furnished many contributions to this end. Nevertheless, it is not to be ignored that, apart from erroneously-alleged contradictions, not a few doctrinal passages of the Bible placed nakedly side by side, and regarded in their literal verbal teaching, bear no very harmonious aspect, and appear even glaringly to contradict each other. Such discrepancies, where they occur, should be allowed to show themselves just as they are, that in the endeavour to bring them into accord new errors may not arise.

But the possibility of resolving all such discords in a higher harmony has already been given in our discussions upon revelation and Holy Scripture. If the entire contents and aim of the Bible find their agreement in certain fundamental truths, in number perhaps few, but in significance all-embracing and unalterable, this whole motley play of colours in many varying utterances is only as the refraction of the sun's light; and each separate ray leads us back to the great one light itself. Or, to speak without figure, this whole well-nigh incalculable manifoldness, which superficially considered seems at times to amount almost to serious discrepancy, has arisen purely historically, and is historically explicable. Thus a pure comprehensive truth, as it appears in the Bible, may either become known gradually during the long continuance of the development of the perfect true religion, and not be wholly completed until we come to the

New Testament,—as the doctrines of immortality, of the nature and significance of the Messiah and His kingdom, and of the religious community,—and then the earlier expressions are but rudimentary forms and first stages of it; or it may meet us in the Bible developed at once,—as the doctrines of God, of His relation to the universe, and of sin, —and then the varying expressions of it are just so many attempts, as occasion offers, to apply with increasing definiteness in some special way what is given at first in its more general form. In the one case a real contradiction would arise only if the earlier utterances contained the direct opposite of that which at last appears as the all-comprehensive truth; in the other, only if a subsequent expression absolutely denied the intuition and doctrine given already in its completeness. But there is no instance, as will be seen, of either of these cases. It is somewhat different if an expression appears casually more complete and simple in one passage of the Bible than another, as the Ten Commandments in the two copies preserved to us, or as so many sayings of Christ preserved more fully and freshly in one Gospel than in another. This is to be traced to authorship and literary contingency, and shows how deficient as to particular details all written records are in themselves, and how necessary it is to collate and compare everything which the Bible, as a literary memorial, presents.

But if the matter stands thus, it is evident that the disadvantage of this fulness of different utterances, thoughts, and narratives, verging upon apparent irreconcilableness and plain contradiction, turns out ultimately rather as a clear gain. If, in the almost endless multitude of passages, one passage may serve as the complement of the other and give an inner and outer perfection when rightly placed by its side and explained, the whole which in this way we have presented to us and vividly grasp in its genuine coherence may be the more surely and plainly known in its respective parts. To force one Scripture harshly into agreement with

another, or to place it in a perverted relation to it, is neither admissible nor of any service. But just as greatly should we mistake the truth if the parts of the whole as they appear are severed from each other further than their clear import warrants. For that these parts sprang directly more or less from an irresistible impulse and a higher need, is manifest from previous discussions. Our concern is now to mark trustworthily how that which with good reason we presuppose becomes verified in the details; and what an actual veritable whole thus results for our recognition. We do not in the outset exclude the possibility that some thought may occur in the Bible, and be presented as doctrine, which either does not fit in at all with the rest, or has, comparatively speaking, little fitness with it, for we may come to the Bible with the general and sound presupposition that such may be the case. It is for us to ask, however, whether an instance of real incongruity occurs, or, should an apparent incongruity occur, to note upon what stage it stands in its connection with truths that are conspicuous as the central truths of Scripture. And here, indeed, time and place, and the special book in which such apparent or supposed discrepancy in thought is found, are not matters to be overlooked.

§ 144. 2. In making the attempt to reduce to a system, or to one great consistent circle of doctrine, all the different sayings, thoughts, and incidents of the Bible, so far as they can serve this purpose, something adequate and satisfactory is demanded, and no manifest gaps are tolerable, nor indeed anything incomplete in itself or merely fragmentary. This lies in the nature of all subjects of thought and inquiry, if the mind of man investigates them with real ardour and genuine interest; and the more eagerly we conduct this investigation, the more patent and the more serious are such gaps when they occur. The Bible, however, notwithstanding all its superabundant fulness, which is the more remarkable from its size as a book, has its limits nevertheless,

which are not to be overstepped, and because of these cannot possibly contain everything that to satisfy our desire we might wish to have without limit. It does not offer such a special solution as we would often gladly possess of every possible or conceivable question in divine things as they relate to humanity. Nor does it suffice to this end even if we extend its limits as far as we may by taking in the so-called intermediate books, or indeed the Apocrypha of the New Testament. If we were to think of it as a book from which some directly apt historical instance or example might be drawn to throw light upon every difficult problem in our higher life, how often should we seek for such instance or example in vain! Moreover, every new age brings with it a multitude of new and complicated questions concerning human affairs in their relation to God, and concerning intricate circumstances of life about which it would be foolish to ask counsel of the Bible at haphazard, as the Romans once did of their Sibylline books, and as Mohammedans do so often now of their Qor'an. And yet it is not to be doubted that all wise discussion of the doctrines of the Bible must have regard to the needs and circumstances of the present time, if that end is to be answered which is proper to such discussion. This is the other side of the matter.

The difficulty in question must be rightly faced in its whole extent and gravity, and the gaps of which we have spoken must not be superficially filled up where they are unquestionably found. As to how such breaks in a system of doctrine are to be supplied there can be no doubt. If they related to fundamental truths and conceptions which are comprehensive and determinative of everything else, possibility of remedy there would be none; but how little this is the case is evident to all candid investigation. The firm foundations are never wanting; and these being given, the systematic superstructure will be secure enough if every part of it rests directly upon such foundations, and if, wher-

ever there is something wanting to complete the edifice, it is supplied in harmony with what is already given. It is true that in every case where a break is observable, all the special relations upon which everything turns are to be specially investigated; but as certainly as the great divine relations are known which ever condition equally and alike all the infinitely various affairs of humanity, and as certainly as the truths of the Biblical revelation, as we have seen, are not in opposition to such relations, so certainly can the gaps of which we speak be supplied with confidence from these two sources of knowledge.

If, therefore, we ask where such gaps actually occur, we must distinguish more sharply than we have already done (§ 127) the two great halves of the whole contents of the Bible, that which gives the material, which here may come into contemplation, or the historical part, and that which forms the remainder: two divisions which, measured by palpable dimensions, almost exactly equal each other.

(*a*) Everything historical may more nearly or remotely serve for exposition and confirmation of the general truths which alone are the ultimate object of our inquiry; it is indispensable for the fulfilment of this purpose where the divine touches more closely the human, and it is the chief thing where, as pre-eminently in the case of Christ, it serves for example in the religious life which man should observe, and for doctrine in the knowledge of God which man should possess. But everything historical, resolved into its elements, consists of such an infinite number of reminiscences, that for us to-day, whatever the number of the writings, it can never be exhausted. On this side, therefore, wherever the Bible shows gaps, whether smaller or more considerable, they may be supplied from other sources; and every such redintegration may in its place be useful, and although only of scientific significance, yet it may manifoldly enlarge and strengthen our faith. But the parts of this whole long history, of incomparably the highest importance for doctrine,

are just the parts of the Bible that have all the completeness and trustworthiness we could wish. The fulness and clearness of historical reminiscences are, it is true, very manifoldly graduated in the Bible, partly according to the special importance they have for the development of the great two thousand years' history to its highest end, partly according to the period which for us moderns reaches farther and farther back, and becomes proportionally more ancient and obscure. And thus the three years of the earthly work of Christ occupy a larger space and have a more succinct and yet a clearer fulness of narrative than any other time. Next to these, the eras that find their immortal memorial in the Bible in the most vivid and brilliant historical pictures are the eras of progress properly so called, in which the true religion made its great advances through sublime prophet and apostle, or in which the development of the community proceeded at a rapid pace through the irresistible power of rare and extraordinary events, and through the influence of princes of rare and extraordinary gifts. The time of Moses, too, withdrawn as it is into something of obscurity, is sufficiently represented in its certainty and fulness, and in all its pure elevation, by the portraiture of the great community-founder and lawgiver, and the detail of acts of permanent interest that illustrate it. And even of the remotest ages of time before Moses, the Bible has rescued not a few most memorable reminiscences which stand out in inextinguishable splendour, like stars amid the darkness. Indeed it may be affirmed that in the development of this two thousand years' history of unique significance, there is no point or situation of importance concerning which some discourse or writing, if short, yet the more luminous, has not been preserved as a record and witness of highest value and most reliable authority. Of the pre-Mosaic time we have such clear-shining stars in certain poetic memorials;[1] of the Mosaic time far more; of the long obscure period of the Judges we have the

[1] Gen. iv. 23 f., xlix. 22-26.

songs of Deborah, and some others that are clearly distinguishable. In the same way the proportionately darker period of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes is now, as is admitted, illumined by many smaller but more vividly-shining literary testimonies; the great turn of affairs, the changed condition of things between the time of the Old and the New Jerusalem, is resuscitated to our view in all living reality in contemporary writings which have long been almost veiled to us; the similar period of change from the Persian to the Grecian time, on the one hand the Book of Baruch and the Psalter of Solomon, on the other the Book of Esther, elucidate; and from thence accumulate more and more literary memorials, now rediscovered, sprung from that stirring time. It may be affirmed with justice that of each of the different great eras of more than two thousand years, the most striking literature has been preserved in the highest manifoldness and diversity, and yet ultimately only as the most distinct witness of the development of a great history. So pure and firm was the historical sense which, as a product of the true religion, influenced in a powerfully determinative way the compilation and structure of the Bible, and which the Bible in its turn serves to foster and preserve for all future time; and so little of significance as to the chief historical purpose of Scripture are the smaller or larger gaps which, to be sure, are to be found in it.

(*b*) Regarding, however, as a second division of the contents of the Bible that which seeks to present its peculiar and pure divine truths standing high above all the changes of history, the question of certain conceivable breaks shapes itself altogether differently. The greatest, most necessary, most comprehensive and unchanging of its pure truths are given in Scripture with just the same completeness as certainty; or if anything appears wanting, the reason lies in what is incident to humanity, and which no possible knowledge can remove. To be sure, the application, for individuals in home and community, of all these highest universal truths to the special cases of human life, is so infinite that it is vain to expect

to find it in the Bible. From a more exact understanding, especially of the historical element in the Bible, much that is doctrinal may be found, far more, indeed, than superficial thought succeeds in winning; but for all conceivable cases, even this means does not suffice. In point of fact, however, such deficiencies, when they occur, may readily be removed by a sound application of universal truths, if only the special case be rightly regarded in all its peculiarity. That which is truly decisive and important in this matter is that it is exactly in all-comprehensive universal truths, filling this whole sphere of knowledge, that no actual deficiencies are to be found in the Bible. This, however, may be said to have its possibility—for the Bible contemplated as a whole does not offer to us any system of doctrine—only because this series of universal truths resolves itself into the one unique truth which, as we shall see, is given with the true religion itself and penetrates all parts of Holy Scripture.

(*c*) In the centre between these pure truths and the history, springing from both and uniting and sustaining them, stand the sacred emblems and emblematic transactions as they appear in the Old and New Testaments. As to their import and end, the Bible leaves us in no doubt, since they go back to the above-mentioned fundamental truths. But so far as they arose historically and in detail very manifoldly, and we desire to realize their manifoldness on all sides somewhat exactly as it was in those times, so far the possible deficiencies that cling to everything historical, that is gathered from ancient writings, still return. But here comés in tradition as a helpful source of knowledge.

§ 145. 3. But that we do not act contrary to the tenor of the Bible, if we attempt to elaborate such a system, may be proved from the Bible itself. For in certain parts, that by their contents and aim are most capable of such treatment, it gives itself the clearest and finest precedents of it, showing how a subject of manifold comprehension and multifarious doctrine may in an adequate presentment be luminously

systematized, and in all its essential elements condensed into a synopsis; nay, how for the most important public use and service it must be so condensed. The oldest literary document for the guidance of all public life in the community, and the very first basis of the Bible itself, the Decalogue (§ 106), while the most ancient, is at the same time a nobly finished attempt to give, in clear abstract and appropriate tabulation, a connected view of all the most necessary commandments of life;[1] and subsequently the whole of Deuteronomy, although with a higher freedom, unmistakably follows such systematization closely enough.[2] Moreover, all the legal ordinances also which come in between the smaller and more ancient list of commandments, and the later copy of it in Deuteronomy, are similarly arranged in symmetrical proportions, in order to bring the subject-matter, which is to be thoroughly comprehensive, into one luminous view and easy summary, well arranged in every possible division of it. Even the prophets, too, when they seek to describe accurately a great whole in all its parts, adopt such systematic ordering of their material, as Ezekiel does in chapters xl. to xlviii.[3] But what from the oldest down to its latest parts the Old Testament clearly shows, is repeated, not, however, with any constrained mechanical imitation, but with new creative freedom, in the model prayer of Christ Himself and in the gospel of the sayings of the Lord, the former—the smallest and most perfect; the latter—the largest and in many respects most instructive portion of the New. If all this proves what uses such artistically-formed connection of doctrinal truths of this department has for public instruction and service, other parts of the Bible show how such attempts by many other thinkers and writers[4] were freely made, and how they are repeated in youthful Christianity as soon as the need arose, and the leisure to make them offered itself.[5]

[1] *History*, ii. 158–164. [2] *Ibid.* i. 120. [3] *Prophets*, iv. 193–224.
[4] As in the Book of Proverbs xxx. 15–xxxi. 9.
[5] Cf. *Sieben Sendschreiben des Neuen Bundes*, pp. 194 ff., 249 ff.

Here also we may point with reason to the higher art of clear summary, of appropriate systematizing, and of exhaustive condensation, which distinguishes all the Biblical writers even of the most different types, in some more finished than in others, but never wholly wanting in any, and in the case of the New Testament writings, varied as they are in character, and influenced by the pressure of the age in which they appeared, cannot be easily over-estimated. Only in our own day has such an art in the literature of the ancient people of the true religion been fully recognised in its special characteristics and varied forms and changes; but that it was present and operative in a high stage of cultivation we can now surely perceive.[1]

Are we not then authorized by these precedents and examples, given in the Bible itself, to attempt to reduce to system its entire doctrinal contents, and to show the relation of one doctrine to another? To be sure, all these isolated suggestions, affecting only parts of the teaching of the Bible, are exceptional,[2] and there is no attempt to systematize its whole body of truth. If there were, the Bible would not be the Book of books it is, and how we are to understand and apply it would not then be left to our freedom. Still further, when the Bible does present a summary of connected thoughts and subjects, facilitating remembrance by a round number, explaining the more briefly what is in itself manifold, uniting together in one view what is really related, it but follows the need and custom of the time without prescribing for us a binding rule or making it essential to apply a like method everywhere. Such aids to our apprehension may be useful in their place, but ought not according to the import of the whole Bible to limit the scientific treatment of its truths, for they are not found everywhere in Scripture, and still less are they prescribed by it.

[1] Cf. *Prophets, passim. Revelation; its Nature and Record*, 315 ff. *History*, vii. viii.; and *New Testament Expositions, passim.*

[2] As Matt. xxii. 36–40.

§ 146. II. The second question that inevitably arises is what is the doctrinal element in the Bible in the truest and strictest sense of that term; how is it to be found, and when found formulated? This is a twofold question whose different aspects we cannot well treat separately. For, indeed, all the contents of the Bible may be regarded as doctrinal in the widest sense of the word, so far as they answer to the end the Bible is to serve. But how and where the doctrinal element is to be found and transformed into doctrine are the points now to be considered.

When the Bible first won its peculiar high estimation in the world, and it was thought that with it was possessed for free use the treasury of the loftier truths so long eagerly wanted, it was read and employed for the immediate purpose of learning, teaching, or proof, as occasion demanded or need required. This began with the Pentateuch, and continued as the extent of the Bible increased. We see this, by a most ancient example, in the way in which the author of the Book of Daniel employed the Book of Jeremiah, then held sacred; but this simplest use of the Bible remained essentially the same, especially in the dominant schools, until the time of the Talmud; it extended to the New Testament books in many ways, and with Christians was continued in relation to the New Testament after the Bible had been supplemented and closed. To employ Scripture after this fashion, it sufficed to find in it here and there passages which might serve for the renewing and improvement of the whole life, and by such passages the heart seeking God was deeply touched with joy and exaltation or with humility and penitence. In a wholly different way such passages were also applied in the schools for doctrine and proof. A more definite insight into the entire Bible, in the mutual relations of all its different parts, great and small, as well as into the full original meaning and real connection of the contents as a whole and in detail, could not thereby be obtained, and it was not felt to be necessary to obtain it. Whilst, therefore, in common life, or even in the

schools, some passages and sentences of the Bible were preferred to all others, were repeated a thousand times and applied in the most varied manner, the drift of the wider connection in which they stood was easily overlooked, and no pains were taken to secure a more certain comprehension of the whole context and of the smaller or large books. The first two chapters of the Book of Job, for example, were read very much, and from them was drawn a definite idea of Job's condition; but there was little or no conception of the principal aim of this sublime poem, far more difficult to grasp, and only isolated flowers that struck the eye were selected for contemplation. Still less was the sense of many a darker prophetic word in its whole original sharpness and direct tendency seized by the mind; rather did the historical circumstances from which every portion and every book of the Bible proceeded drop more and more from view. Thus the more readily, in the zeal to understand vividly what had become obscure, were interpreters entangled in the net of allegory, as we have already seen (§ 138).

A further error[1] which readily united with this first was that the Bible might be employed as the sufficient basis for the substance of all that man desired to observe and know,—that, in fact, everything might be learnt and taught out of it. And supposing by this principle the knowledge and doctrines of common and apparently lower sciences and arts of life were excluded, yet it was thought that it might be used so much the more as the adequate, or at least the primary source of all higher intellectual knowledge and arts. What it contained of legal matters and institutions of life for priests and laity was to be the sole firm foundation and prescript for the whole science of jurisprudence;[2] the elements and outlines of all ancient history were to be drawn exclusively from its contents;[3] even the best of other sciences, as medicine and

[1] See note at end of this chapter.

[2] From which view sprang everything that we may designate "Talmud."

[3] *History*, i. 200 ff.

the physical history of the earth and the whole universe, was to be derived from its statements and suggestions. Now it is no doubt certain that without the Bible we should be ill informed about a large and extremely important portion of ancient history; that in the main the Bible is genuinely historical in its character;[1] and that it affords us the first full glimpse and sound apprehension of all true universal history. Similarly, it presents to us numerous and in the highest degree valuable ideas of a thousand important things which in so cultured a nation as Israel already were established, and, moreover, presents them in writings of an antiquity so remote that few other writings are comparable with them. It gives instructive fragments of primitive attempts at science, and by the true religion it teaches still more may it wonderfully prepare and strengthen the mind for all further scientific investigation and knowledge. And how much else of the highest value may not be learnt from it, as, for example, the nature of all genuine poetry and the like! But all this is not the doctrinal element that theological science seeks. For such science, however, it proffers the only ample, comprehensive, and specific materials, and it is misused if it is forced to yield what does not belong to this sphere of knowledge.

But in reality Christianity had first to appear before such prevailing misuse of the Bible could be gradually, successfully, and with advantage repressed. And just as everywhere, where in its later development the true religion had diverged from its proper course, Christianity powerfully turned it back, so also the work of Christ Himself, with His clear vision and penetrating glance, tended to the right understanding and employment of the Bible (§ 137. 1). And if in the brief years of His earthly life this happened only in a few cases as the course of His entire Messianic calling afforded opportunity, and if subsequently with respect to the books of the Old Testament, and gradually even with respect to those of the New, the tendency to allegory returned, because all antiquity

[1] *Revelation; its Nature and Record*, § 91 ff., § 125 ff., pp. 300–350, 399–431.

was so easily ensnared by it; yet down to our own times Christianity where it has flourished, as well in practical as in scientific form, has always happily freed itself more and more from this alluring art. If, therefore, we would rightly answer the double question that has just been proposed, it is self-evident that for us to-day there can be no admission whatever of the claim to allegorize the contents of Scripture. It is just as clear that we have to seek in the Scripture, what is to be found in it as nowhere else, all that shall serve as doctrine in divinely-human affairs, all, indeed, that is the proper subject of this whole work. But if, in harmony with our aim, we desire authentically and exhaustively to draw from Scripture doctrinal material, we must proceed somewhat in the following way:—

1. Since the Bible is composed of a great number of different books, and many of the most important of these, if their origin and preservation are well considered, have grown out of a far greater number of different works, we must begin with a proper understanding of every one of these parts, the greatest and the least, where and just as we find them in the Bible; and if we will proceed with precision and certainty, accurate knowledge and exact discrimination are pre-eminently important here, where the doctrinal element of Scripture is in question. But then we have not merely to consider separately the thoughts and truths which are contained in every portion of Scripture, and to estimate and rightly apply the well-nigh inexhaustible wealth proffered to us in such thoughts and truths; we must first of all recognise in their full exactitude and speciality, and where they are found in their whole rareness and elevation, the doctrinal contents and aim of every portion of Scripture regarded as a whole and in itself, and we must neglect nothing that offers its aid to us in this direction. For if the contents and aim of every purely historical book are easily ascertained, and have only in a limited sense any doctrinal significance, yet with many of the familiar poetical and prophetic works this is not so easy a task, while with the more artificial compositions

the drift and purpose will not be discovered without going below the surface of the thought, and distinguishing and estimating with care and precision the hidden art of the writer. A whole great work is often only the transfiguration of a single fundamental thought which may contain in itself the noblest and sublimest material of doctrine; and perhaps nowhere in the entire compass of the Bible is it to be found in so true and striking a form as here, if only it is rightly understood as a whole. What a genuine poetic spirit seeks to represent by artistic labour is disclosed to the contemplative and eager mind only upon a full survey of the whole work; and in case, as with us to-day, careful perusal is necessary, not till we reach the close, and review in wide retrospect the entire work, is it well understood in all its related parts. But there are many creative fundamental thoughts of such lofty range and far-reaching significance, that only the art of a genuine poet can suffice to represent them in all possible clearness and impressiveness, especially when actual history has not brought them vividly before the view in the universal light peculiar to it. He who has not grasped the main conception of the Song of Songs, of the Book of Job, of the Book of Daniel, of the Apocalypse, or, indeed, of the small Book of Lamentations, or who does not trace out accurately the artistic plan of the Book of Ezekiel, or even of the book of the great Unnamed (Isa. xl.-lxvi.), of the Epistle of Paul to the Romans, or of that anonymous Epistle to the Hebrews, can neither truly mark and appropriate as it is the high eternal truth each writer has in his mind and illustrates by his word, nor recognise and distinguish the doctrinal element contained therein; either he will get nothing that is certain and satisfactory from such works, or most likely something that is erroneous. But even the doctrinal contents of the separate parts, whether larger or smaller, of such artistic compositions where the meaning is not indisputably and at once certain and self-evident, can be confidently apprehended and applied only by rightly marking the drift of

the whole work. Thus we should deprive ourselves not merely of the certainty but also of the wealth and fulness of the doctrinal elements of Scripture, nay, of many of its grandest doctrines, if we did not start with the just discrimination and proper handling of its original documents.

2. But, on the other hand, there may be in the Bible single sayings, and rarely occurring short sentences and passages interposed which, not less than the longest and best preserved portions, demand for doctrinal purposes our fullest consideration and most careful use. This is owing partly to the deficiency which in general everywhere cleaves to all literature received from antiquity; partly to the special form of development taken, as well by the entire two thousand years' history of the true revealed religion as by its doctrinal elements; partly also to the nature of the many portions of the Bible which, although full of the highest contents, are of very rare type and character.

For, however highly the value of all writing and especially of Holy Scripture is to be esteemed, as we have seen, it is yet shown (§ 102 ff.) that it can never perfectly comprise in it all that might be desired; at least a book like the Bible cannot, which is but a relic and survival of a much more comprehensive and extremely manifold literature. For the certain knowledge of doctrine in all its greatest and most essential aspects, and in its own firm connection in our immediate circle of thought, the Bible is perfectly sufficient; but many separate parts, which in this great whole have not less their good significance and their large value, can be only briefly and incidentally touched upon in the limited literature of the Bible. What high significance through long centuries must the name and conception of Jahveh, the Lord of Hosts, once have had! Yet this designation, though often repeated in the Bible, sounds to us now as a somewhat obscure reminiscence from an age in which it arose in full vividness, and was readily intelligible in itself. So, on the other hand, in the New Testament we meet with institutions important

in the life of the Christian community which are mentioned only briefly, and much more briefly than we could wish; partly because the range of New Testament literature is very restricted, and in these short books only the great new things of faith are by preference mentioned; partly because much that the New Testament presents was not so perfectly developed in the first age of Christianity as it subsequently became.

Thus, then, in the oldest portions of the Bible the true religion may be discovered in its full livingness and splendour as well as in the clear consciousness of its dissimilarity from its opposite;[1] but it does not follow that in the earliest ages the true religion was perfectly developed in all the directions in which human thought contemplates it. Rather may we say that it reaches its many-sided consummation and the ripe age of its perfectness only in the New Testament.[2] In revelation, therefore, we may speak of a process of development (§§ 24–90); but as this whole progressive development, so far as it could first perfectly attain in One its true end, reaches its highest point only in Christ, and in Him only as all the forces of divine illumination and revelation coincide, so the Old Testament may well contain many an expression, singular, brief, and somewhat obscure, the first elements and anticipations as it were of that perfect knowledge and revelation which open upon us in the New Testament. And this occurs most clearly in relation to that part of Revelation which touches upon the side of human things, where shadows and death fall, and which in itself is necessarily somewhat dark. But as beside the sublimest pinnacle of truth a gulf opens below, and rays from that pure splendour of light striking down may penetrate the extremest and deepest darkness, so in the New Testament we meet occasional brief

[1] The popular song which Lamech sings (Gen. iv. 23 f.) shows nothing of the spirit of the true religion; it is interposed only to point to this very deficiency, and to the night-side of the human spirit that became ever darker.

[2] According to the appropriate image of Col. i. 28, iii. 14, iv. 12; James i. 25, iii. 2; Heb. v. 14, vi. 1, ix. 11.

words and sentences for the first time, which illumine with their trembling radiance this shadowy realm of humanly-divine existence, and which appear to us, therefore, so strange and obscure that they can only proceed from the broad light of Christ which has arisen in the heavens in its fullest glory, as if seeking to penetrate at last that which is darkest and deepest. Passages which refer to the descent into Hades are instances of this. And yet in all such passages something of the doctrinal element is contained which serves to the fuller illumination of the entire realm of truth of which we here speak.

Furthermore there are occasional briefly-interposed sentences and rare passages which, as it might seem, border closely upon the limits of doctrine, but uplifted above it, readily pass over into a realm in which doctrine is no longer supreme, nor is alone to have attention. For if, as must be the case, all doctrine moves only in the region of the knowable, or of the demonstrable by means of what is already known, how can we include in it expressions in which the rapt spirit, caught up in the contemplation of divine things, overflows with thoughts which reach beyond the knowable or the intelligibly demonstrable, and which consequently reveal nothing which falls within the province of doctrine, or is to be placed on a level with what are commonly considered doctrinal propositions? The purely poetical or artistic element in the Bible is not meant here; how this serves for doctrine will be subsequently explained. But passages like those in the Old Testament, strictly speaking rare and brief, in which the prophetic spirit not merely anticipates in general the coming of a Messiah, but suggests with lofty and bold freedom what He will be when He comes,—such passages are meant, and these cannot be considered as belonging to doctrine in the usual meaning of the term, because they indicate something which at that time reached out beyond all real experience, and beyond the immediate laws of conduct to which every one had to conform. Similarly, when

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Christ in rare moments discourses of Himself, as in Matt. xi. 25–30 and John xvii., that is not according to the language of the New Testament itself to be brought under the idea of common doctrine. Such words, it is true, do not give to us transient or even confused and untrue thoughts, for they relate rather to the very basis of the eternal truths which the Bible offers; and yet we cannot introduce them into any series of doctrinal propositions. Just on this account must we distinguish, as well in this case where it is most evident as in all similar cases, merely doctrinal material from pure doctrine, and define the latter the more exactly. What we call doctrine in the strictest sense must contain truths which may be reduced to brief propositions, and which form a firmly-compact circle of contents, never inconsistent with each other, and never contradictory. But the doctrinal material which falls into this circle may be infinite; and only because the Bible, like every other book, is of limited extent, is the doctrinal element in it not so unlimited as we might well wish, whilst we properly consider even the rarest expressions of transcendent import and range as capable of serving in some way as contributions to doctrine. At the same time, since our subject deals with doctrine concerning God, and therefore with what is infinite, and leads out far beyond all sensuous experience and sensuous perception, it would be perverse to assign to doctrine too narrow a sense, and so diverge in the very outset into oblique paths.

3. Only in this way must we therefore gather together all the doctrinal material of the Bible in the one great whole which we here seek. Let this particular material yield itself as it may, whether from the briefest, most isolated, and apparently obscure passages of Scripture; or from the survey and correspondingly true comprehension of each of the larger and connected portions; or from the Scripture considered as a whole; everywhere it is thus with confidence to be drawn from it, and each detail to be placed in its proper depart-

ment or framework, that thus the doctrine of which we are in quest may finally appear.

§ 147. III. But we must here, in accordance with what we have just said, more particularly determine the relation to doctrine of all the doctrinal material in the Bible itself, for in point of extent this material is almost incalculable and difficult to compass, and in its origin and source unusually diversified ; moreover, the way in which it is to be employed for doctrine can be determined most justly and briefly only in accordance with this very difference in source.

In the outset it is to be observed that we cannot in this question regard merely books or divisions of the Bible. To be sure, we shall do well to start from the purely doctrinal portions or doctrinal books, for there are such, and they are very conspicuous and readily distinguishable. Amongst them are some that are of the utmost brevity and the most comprehensive and eternal significance, as the original Ten Commandments. If, however, the New Testament contains in itself only few connected doctrinal portions, and no single book that is purely doctrinal, that is accounted for by the fact that at the time when it appeared Christianity was too new in the world, and the doctrinal portions of the Old Testament that had an ancient sanctity might especially offer their manifold service. But everywhere where the fundamental thoughts and truths may be embraced in the full repose of sharp brevity, and a digested series of doctrines, it is best provisionally to proceed from them, if we have especially to do, as in this work, with the right understanding and science of things. But were we to take the Ten Commandments and regard them as the basis of the immovable structure of all doctrine, and compare and finally adjust with them the contents of all the rest of the doctrinal parts and special doctrinal books of the Bible, nay, were we also to gather up the passages which, scattered up and down in other portions and books of the Bible, bear immediately a doctrinal import, and might be regarded as doctrine,—all this

would not suffice. For, on the one hand, each of these portions, or even books, had always in the history of the development and maintenance of the true religion only the primary aim of preserving in a doctrinal connection certain of its fundamental truths and obligations, as the situation of the community demanded it; so that they can be regarded only as attempts and commencements in the task of summarizing for the community the whole doctrinal material of the true religion; and although the Ten Commandments are of the most incomparable utility in this respect, and serve as a model for so many later efforts, and form a precedent worthy of all remembrance, yet in these attempts there prevailed, down to the time of the New Testament, so great a freedom and diversity that we cannot, in the evident import of the whole Bible, make the Ten Commandments the basis in such a way that we must interpolate into them all other material of the same origin. Our aim goes beyond this, is wider and larger, and seeks to compass the entire contents and purpose of the Bible. On the other hand, all these doctrinal portions and books, just because each of them has only a special aim, presuppose many fundamental ideas of the true religion, for example that of God Himself; and all such ideas we must without exception here take into consideration. And so we can only say that everything to be drawn from this source is to be contemplated for our purpose only as doctrinal material.

1. Amongst such material stands all that is prophetic, wherever and in whatever form it may be found, whether combined in a longer series or standing in something of isolation, since, according to what has been already explained, it is the creative commencement and inexhaustible source of everything which appears in Scripture as pure doctrine. But since all prophecy, the more original and living it is in itself, takes its rise the more expressly from the reaction of the prophet upon the given circumstances of the community in his time, and upon the anticipation beforehand of the future

shaping of things from that time onward, so it is evident that a prophet may insert here and there in the stream of his discourse a sentence which is capable of immediate use as doctrine just as it is; but elsewhere his words may contain doctrinal material only, which must be reduced to general truths and propositions, if they are to have place in the whole connection of doctrines here to be presented. Applied in this sense and spirit, the most specific utterances the prophets make concerning the existing kingdom of God in its narrowest or widest area, concerning Israel or foreign nations, and their present condition or their then coming future, contain in themselves, rightly understood, a fulness of eternally abiding doctrines, each of which deserves to be placed in its proper department; and yet the special utterance is not in itself to be thereby dissipated or resolved into pure generalities, when such an evaporation would contradict the intent and purpose of all true religion. For all that is spoken prophetically in the Old Testament concerning the Messiah and His kingdom, and in the New is anticipated concerning the glorified Messiah and His future, must in its deepest and most indestructible sense remain especially limited to this single personality, just on this account, that for all true religion, as here developed, it is of unique and in this its specific character of imperishable significance.

Still it is to be noted that Christ's words stand above all ordinary prophetic words; they are to be brought into this connection indeed, but they so much transcend everything of the kind that elsewhere appears in the Bible, that they would have to be placed in a separate class, were it not advisable in this survey to keep in view rather the general character of the sources of discourse than the degree of its elevation. From ordinary prophetic utterances, Christ's words are distinguished by the mere predictive element falling into the background before that which is purely didactic, and except in certain passages never having any prominence; moreover, even from the purely didactic element such rare

words as Matt. xi. 25–30, John xvii., which may indeed be best designated as the expression of the purest Messianic feeling, are also distinguishable. Nevertheless calmly didactic, clearly convincing, sharply defined utterances have in Christ's discourse everywhere the precedence,[1] so much so that all of it must be taken far rather as doctrine than as doctrinal material, were it not that even here also are some sayings which it is not to be forgotten are limited in their primary import by the time and locality of their origin, as especially Matt. xxiv.

Still more is this separation between the purely predictive and the calmly didactic utterances found in the contents of the Epistles of the New Testament, where the former recedes far more into the background and the latter entirely prevails, whilst the expression of apostolic feeling in harmony with the origin of the Epistles makes itself in most of them very strongly perceptible. As with the apostles it is, generally speaking, what is unique and unprecedented that at every moment they are enabled to realize as against a whole unbelieving world, wide in extent and alien in character; and as they have either to be faithless to all the priceless treasures entrusted to them, or to preserve and increase them, and to secure all salvation or lose everything; so all they say or write overflows with this one inextinguishable and clearest feeling, and transforms their discourse into words of such clearness, certainty, and firmness, that in this respect also they appear as the immediate and most worthy followers of their Lord.

2. It is altogether different with what we must carefully distinguish from prophecy and designate the poetic element

[1] Just on this account also, according to the language and narrative of all the Gospels, even of the Fourth and of Acts i. 1, the teaching of Christ appears in the end only as the second great half of all His work, His deeds being the first; whilst it is true, in the Old Testament, revelation itself (*Revelation; its Nature and Record*, p. 7 ff.) is called briefly in its last aim doctrine, the special deeds of the prophets being only rarely characterized as having a doctrinal bearing.

in the Bible. However frequently these two wholly distinct impulses and powers of the human spirit are to-day confused and classed with one another, we must here, as elsewhere, keep them sharply apart. According to its essential nature, and therefore everywhere where it is not wholly degenerate, poetry, in its invariable similarity, is nothing but the expression of feelings by which the human spirit is so deeply stirred that it cannot but express them in a peculiar way;—an expression marked by the higher repose of a continuously inspired and lofty movement of discourse, whose energy, as it ascends, is steadied to a corresponding and appropriate equilibrium.[1] Such poetry entirely fills some books of the Old Testament, and is also scattered here and there in all the rest, nor is it fully wanting in the New Testament; but rightly to estimate it, it must not be overlooked that it is to be taken in this discussion just in its original and strictest sense. Only the poetry of song or lyrical poetry is here to be understood. Where this art is applied for didactic, dramatic, or narrative purposes,—and of these three different kinds of poetry there are instances in the Bible, some of them of the highest and most finished character,—portions of original, simple, and pure, *i.e.* of lyric poetry may, it is true, enter into the composition, and these are then to be regarded just as the former; but the special chief thought from which the poet, as didactic poet, or as dramatist, or as narrator, proceeds must, with its complete realization and accomplishment, be selected from it, and into this connection of which we here speak, only that actually belonging to it must be brought.

Looking now, with this proper limitation, to the purely

[1] [Ewald seems to mean that in poetry expression and feeling are equally balanced, the first corresponding to the second. Cf. *Die Dichter des alten Bundes*, i. 3–8. Cf. also Hazlitt's definition: "Poetry is only the highest eloquence of passion, the most vivid form of expression, that can be given to our conception of anything. . . . It is *the perfect coincidence of the image and the words with the feeling we have*, and of which we cannot get rid in any other way, that *gives an instant 'satisfaction to the thought.'*"]

poetic element in the Bible, wherever and in whatever connection it may be found, it is at once evident that if poetry consists in the streaming forth, under such condition as we have indicated, of the feelings of the human spirit in speech, then, by virtue of the peculiar nature of this spirit and of all human speech, thoughts lie at the basis of these feelings, thoughts of the most different kind may be thus expressed, proceeding from every possible experience, and varying with every possible height or depth of knowledge. Moreover, all the emotions that belong to religion find in poetry their earliest and most powerful expression; but if poetic pieces of such a nature preponderate in the Bible throughout, not only in such books as were intended to be collections of them, as the Psalms, but also in all others, yet this character does not necessarily mark all the passages of poetry that, for some reason or other, have now a place in the Bible, and might have been lost were they not so preserved.[1] If, however, we desire to consider every poetic composition as doctrinal material, we may do so, but in the broadest sense, since even the expression of ignobler feeling, when it meets us in song in clear and captivating guise, may, by the force of its contrast with what is better, teach us something good. But not the less is it evident that even in such songs as are collected for the purpose of being sung in the community, as the Psalms, the expression of feeling may vary very much, whilst it is proper that in order to eliminate whatever may be possibly injurious to the practical life every mere feeling should always be subjected to close examination and scrutiny. Thus, therefore, if almost everywhere such feelings and thoughts emerge from the poetic portions of the Bible as can serve as immediate, luminous, and noble materials in the structure of a system of doctrine, nevertheless as to the rest, even should they occur in the Psalter, it must first be asked how far they can serve us for doctrinal purposes, and in what connection they stand with the fundamental truths of genuine

[1] As Gen. iv. 23 f.; or as B. Isa. xxiii. 16; Job xxi. 14 f.

religion, which alone it is the ultimate aim of the Bible to present.[1]

§ 149. 3. Having thus dealt with those portions of Holy Scripture that proceed from the Old Testament prophets and their New Testament successors, and from the poets, and with what appears in their language or their works as immediate witness of their own peculiar spirit,—narrative alone remains to be considered. Now it is self-evident that every portion of historical reminiscence is to be turned to account in this circle as doctrinal material, only in so far as it contributes to the apprehension of the universal truths and doctrines belonging to this whole province. This reminiscence may rest upon a fulness of numerous, copious, and manifold narratives which the Bible affords us for the separate prominent heights of its whole history, or may be preserved in mere names or rare suggestions; still a very valuable contribution for doctrine may lie hid even in what at first sight are but isolated survivals of a once larger history, and may prove its value when found anew and rightly applied. What high significance for doctrine there may be in the half-faded names the Bible preserves, and in their brief suggestions of eternally memorable interventions of the effective power of all true religion, we have already seen.[2]

But the fuller and more graphic the presentation, in a narrative of the Biblical history, of an event important for the true religion and its community, the more helpful and vivifying is its influence in the enlightened comprehension of doctrine; and the Bible has an inexhaustibly profound depth of power in that it joins very closely together all history and all doctrine essential to the understanding of it, so that the one may be elucidated by the other. Since now, however, all the conceptions and doctrines of revelation are secured only in the conflicts of human history, and therefore the original

[1] As remarked in the previous volume, p. 426, with respect to the so-called imprecatory Psalms.

[2] § 146, p. 18 f.

truth of revelation is the more conspicuously evident, the more clearly and certainly such historical reminiscence stands before our view, it is manifest what significance the whole wealth of the Bible in its shorter or longer narratives has for our aim—a significance which nothing else could have. And since all higher and better aspirations and endeavours of man in genuine religion must first in conflict with their opposites be subjected to the test of experience before they can be raised to the position of precedents and doctrines; it is evident that in this matter history anticipates doctrine, and, stage by stage, the highest examples of all human life must appear before the first firm outlines of the perfect doctrine of it can be sketched. Accordingly, where this occurs in the highest degree, simple history is also at the same time material for the noblest and purest doctrine, as is the case in the New Testament in relation to Christ; and for doctrine as such nothing is then left but to ask and to show how the highest phenomenon in human life and history thus given for ever to knowledge and imitation, can actually serve to every man for precedent and example.

But because the human mind may carry in itself an anticipation of the perfection of all human life and an inextinguishable yearning after it, before the highest historical doctrine is thus manifest, so it is possible that the scattered and faded reminiscences of lofty personages of the primitive time may be involuntarily elevated and spiritualized to patterns of such pure excellence. If now the chief part of the reverence of heroes of antiquity proceeded from this source among the heathen, with the people of Israel it was only the three Patriarchs, nay, *par excellence* Abraham himself, the remembrance of whom these retrospects and narratives more and more thus renewed and transfigured; so that especially Abraham's history, as it appears in the Bible, has now become a self-luminous, eternal doctrine of all life in the true religion; —at least in such purity and loftiness as was conceivable before Christ had given in reality the true example of it.

And subsequently there was added also the spiritualizing of the reminiscence of Elijah, since the purely prophetic type of character appeared more and more to rival that of the old-world primitive age; and in the case of Elijah we are historically in a position to observe this with the more definiteness. Or where otherwise subsequent narrators renovated for their contemporaries scattered and feeble reminiscences of old historical magnates, summoning to life again in new pictures all that had once been noblest in them, we must be careful, if such narratives are to serve us as materials for doctrine, to distinguish the double elements out of which they grew; nay, this distinction is here even most usefully to be applied since such narratives supply, by the loftiness and vividness of the universal truths which they make the more freely, instructively, and luminously apparent, what they have lost of the fulness and purity of first reminiscences. But we must guard ourselves against mistaking or perverting the actual historical element that lies in them, or holding as fictitious or mere poetry that which, more exactly considered, is rather pure historical reminiscence, however unwonted and sublime it nevertheless at the first glance appears to us.

But in order to estimate aright the narrative parts of the Bible, an important matter is not to be overlooked. The highest points of all the history of the development of Revelation and the true religion itself, as before noticed, may involuntarily become the most memorable and vivid reminiscence of all that infinitude which, corresponding to the eternal nature of all religion, transcends the merely sensuous. The higher that development mounts, the sooner and the more numerously may arise, even immediately according to actual history, short portions of narrative, which in one word may be designated supersensuous. In such short narratives a hundred special reminiscences of the grandeur or the strangeness of historical phenomena, when some given circumstance may furnish the occasion for it, condense themselves in a single vivid representation of corresponding grandeur, but in such a

way that the meaning, which on account of the occasioning circumstance is now associated with this representation, transcends immeasurably the mere occasion itself; and the fact that such vivid reminiscences and sometimes short narratives involuntarily and rapidly spring up after great historical experiences, and become fixed and settled in the thought—just this distinguishes them from the previously-noticed transfigured but later reminiscences of once high historical phenomena. Long since and often has it been made definitely and sufficiently conspicuous how perfectly groundless it is to suppose that the highest points of the whole history of Christ and His apostles, touching as it were the very heavens, originated only in comparatively late days. Those which, according to the sources of our knowledge, prove themselves to be the oldest, are just the highest, and only gradually did similar narratives originate, following these standing examples.[1] But even in the Old Testament, with respect to the history of Moses and his time down to later ages, the same thing may be manifoldly established. The historical conception of Moses' time which Deborah expresses,[2] and indeed that concerning the destruction of the Assyrian army,[3] must have been formed early enough. It is just the freshest, the most powerful, the first impressions, abiding in the mind as the rarest historical experiences, that are most tenaciously preserved in these representations.

That supersensuous truths, which lie too remote from the common vision of men, and are in themselves too dim for sense, are brought most vividly before the eye and mind in the dress of narratives of outwardly observable incidents, was a very old feeling in Israel,—a feeling which, at different times according to varying needs, constantly returned afresh in some new form, and which sought and found correspondingly varying expression. In times when much obstinacy was momentarily to be feared among the people from some new

[1] Cf. *Die drei ersten Evangelien*, 2 Ausg. s. 59 ff. *History*, vii. 56–105.
[2] Judg. v. 4 f. [3] 2 Kings xix. 35. Cf. *History*, iv. 184 f.

violence and domination, this feeling was traversed by the very different feeling that, when direct and open expression of them was dangerous, it would be safer and more useful to clothe such truths of the genuine religion in the form of a pleasing and in itself innocent recital of some story; a custom which grew into prevalency also in the dressing out in graceful and attractive guise of truths concerning public affairs in narratives of every colour and drawn from every source, and thus presenting them as riddles to be solved intellectually, rather than placing them coldly and nakedly before the mind. Since now the most manifold finer exercises and arts of the intellectual life were early cultivated in Israel, and were continued amid all the changes of its outward lot, it is not surprising that narratives which flowed from these three impulses penetrated into the Bible, and have to be employed by us accordingly as doctrinal material. The simple pictorial narratives (fables, parables) of the earliest ages, down to those which surpass all others by their charming grace and striking truth, springing forth creatively in Christ's inexhaustible flowing utterances, belong to this class, as well as those portions of narrative in the Book of Job, originating in artistic poetry and learned speculation, and the stories still more artificial in their diverse aims and methods which appear in such later books as Tobit, Daniel, and Judith.

The narrative pieces of the Bible being of so very diversified a character in their ultimate origin, it is evident indeed that we must employ them as doctrinal material, each in its own way. We have, therefore, carefully to estimate what is simply historical, what proceeds from actually-experienced, highly-significant history, whose truth is to be firmly held, yet is nevertheless in its conception raised above all that is sensuous and earthly, and touches the realm which we are here chiefly in quest of, and must stedfastly apprehend, viz. that of pure, although vividly-represented, spiritual truth; or what at once may be regarded as pictorial image of pure truth,

or even as an attempt to bring it near to the dim or averted eye of man. The more delicate and genuine historical sense, which is never to leave us in this science, and regard for the truth of all history itself and the certainty that in all matters of religion our own religion grows the more we recognise its historical foundation, demand from us this procedure. But nothing is so pernicious, nay, so destructive, for this science and its results, as diluting or explaining away in this or that direction, or denying what strict history teaches, whether in its sensuous, supersensuous, or purely divine side. If now a learned school has in our times become powerful, that mingles all this in confusion, and because many narratives in the Bible are not common or palpable history, as good as rejects more or less, or seeks to annul all historical certainty in Biblical narration, it is for us the more carefully, on the contrary, to guard that historical truth everywhere, and the more surely to realize its value in this science.[1] And one of the best means of defending the historical trustworthiness of the Bible in its essential limits may be afforded by the science we seek here to handle, where everything historical rightly enters into that wider and higher realm in which it receives its full significance and is recognised in its invariable necessity.

§ 150. From what has been said, we draw, however, in this place some further results concerning doctrine so far as it may be derived from the Bible or freely find support in it.

It must be acknowledged that in the course of long centuries the doctrines deduced from Scripture have been somewhat varying. At times a single particular doctrine was elicited from its teaching, upon which incomparably great stress was laid, although it could not properly be found in it at all; at other times a whole system of doctrines was based upon it, although this was just as arbitrary a procedure. All this happened in the last centuries before Christ, and was continued after Christ in relation to the New Testament.

[1] The unhistorical character of the school of Strauss and Baur has long since been established beyond all contradiction.

The rare wealth as well as the great inner diversity of the contents of the Bible favoured this procedure; and the apparent obscurity or ambiguity of many of its single sentences or words also lent its aid to this end. Inasmuch as the diversity of the ponderous and comprehensive doctrines elicited from the Bible, since the German Reformation, three hundred and fifty years ago, awakened a new and rare zeal in its study, has increased more and more, and threatens to become more and more burdensome, people are beginning to treat such questions with disdain. It might be thought, indeed, that the Bible must ultimately fare as the sacred writings of other old and widespread religions have fared, whose divergent exposition with the fundamentally opposite doctrines drawn therefrom became at last a principal reason for the irremediable divisions into which such religions fall. The old Indian religion, that of the Old Testament, and Islam, in large measure through the diverse interpretation and application of the contents of their sacred books, have each of them fallen into the irreconcilable sections in which we see them decaying at present. That in each case some other causes have been at work to widen the breach is, it is true, undeniable, but does not alter the main position in the least. The fact is that those religions either from the beginning suffer from too great imperfection and want of definiteness, or have not advanced to their ultimate consummation, as is the case with the Old Testament religion when it disdains the New. Where this fault exists, everything that is otherwise ever so true in detail may easily more and more break up into parts and dissolve in contradictions. With the old Persian and Macedonian religions we should also see the same irrevocable disruption, if they were not already so enfeebled by their unhappy destiny that only the most fragmentary and one-sided remnant of them still lives. If in the case of Christianity it is so far otherwise that we can recover from its Bible a doctrine which unquestionably satisfies its simple, full, entire contents and aim, and corresponds to all perfect true

religion in so far as doctrine can, this is possible for certain valid reasons. (1) In the first place, in Christianity itself the few but indestructible fundamental truths are given to which all the separate, in themselves real yet scattered, truths contained in the Old Testament tend, and of which the most manifold application to every individual case is possible, but always an application to be enlightened and guided by such earlier Old Testament truths. (2) In the second place, in this Bible are contained the living evidences and documents by which may be seen how everything, even the most manifold, mounts up to its supreme elevation, from which, however, it may be resolved again into its possible manifoldness. If now we find in the almost inexhaustible manifoldness of these living testimonies any detail which, true in itself, yet by its special setting may easily work for us too one-sidedly, we are not only free but obligated to supplement that detail from other portions of knowledge and truth which are just as well to be found in the Bible. So that in the end it is a real advantage that the Scripture does not present itself to us as hard, cold doctrine, settled and adjusted already, but rather as a living garden of inexhaustible wealth, whose rich and varied materials are alike available for the highest uses, wherein no unhealthy growth has not its adequate corrective, and no deficiency its possible supply. (3) And thirdly, the particular words and sentences of the Bible, at least so far as they have importance for the matter in hand, may be understood and applied to-day with far more certainty than in the long ages that have intervened since its completion; so that the clearness and correctness of our conception of the whole have considerably increased.

In this way, still further, what is most of all to be desired in connection with this subject may be brought about. To reduce the manifold contents of the Bible to a system of doctrine, pursuant to its own ultimate aim, is indispensable, has its service which nothing can replace, and in reality has been attempted in some form or other in every age. But

that this system of doctrine, without any prejudice whatever to the excellence of the Bible, should be made more and more perfect and certain, and should more and more guide in common and bring into closer union all Christendom, which is clearly possible, this is the special service which we may have in view. Moreover, however necessary opinion and doctrine are for man, yet everything which we call doctrine has its deficiency. Doctrine comprehends general truths; but these general truths can each of them be fully and exactly conceived only by real living experience; and without such experience constantly realized will be but a dead and empty form. It follows, therefore, that doctrine must always be purified and strengthened by direct reference to such full, living, individual details, that it may not be unsuitably applied. The knowledge and doctrine a man supposes himself to possess and feels to be in themselves a kind of power, may just on this account readily puff up.[1] The consideration how little he can do by them alone, and how necessary it is that he should ever strengthen them afresh by investigation of the infinite details they involve, disarms his vanity of its mischief. And if such is the case with all doctrine, much more is it with this, which by new and actual experiences in life must more and more expand.

P. 14, note 1. [In the *History*, vii. 207 f., Ewald says: "The letter of the sacred Scriptures, as Philo understood it, or supposed according to his foregone conclusion regarding its sacredness he must understand it, was in his view, without any further doubt or independent examination, absolutely divine, both as pure truth and absolute duty, as the light of all knowledge and all life. There is here an inner contradiction and a most dangerous error, which he did not apprehend, just as in our day so many Christian scholars do not perceive it in spite of the New Testament, with its entirely different teaching. It is not permissible to assign one thing a position as absolutely holy and beyond all examination, and to expose another thing

[1] As Paul emphatically says, 1 Cor. iv. 18, v. 2, viii. 1, xiii. 4; Col. ii. 18.

to every kind of examination, simply because it is not this one thing the holiness of which is presupposed. It is not permissible to subordinate certain branches of knowledge as base menials to another branch, as of inviolable and absolute authority, and yet after all to use these menials solely in the sacred service of explaining and defending that indolent mistress that has grown sluggish and immovable. On the contrary, if science or philosophy is to be an indispensable human possession at all, all matters and subjects, not excepting the most sacred, must be equal before it, in order that everything that is holy may authenticate itself by its own truth as holy, and support and preserve all the innumerable sciences in their relation to each other. If this is not done, even that which must be necessarily regarded as holy does not influence as it ought all knowledge and all life ; and, on the other hand, everything that ought to support it from below and sustain it before the world, is unable to fulfil this proper function. But, on the contrary, by the employment of false expedients there arises an outward embellishment and excessive adornment of sacred things which for a time dazzles the eye until it falls into decay, involving the sacred things themselves in its ruin, and bringing about general confusion. For it often happens in such cases that the various branches of knowledge are pursued and cultivated only as far as they are supposed to be handmaids of sacred things in their misunderstood sense, and are rejected, regarded with horror, and anathematized when they appear to hinder the attainment of that object."]

II. THE LIMITATION OF ALL HUMAN KNOWLEDGE OF GOD.

Preliminary Observations.

§ 151. The doctrine of God and His relation to the universe opens upon us the highest and most difficult portion of our task. Who among mortal men, even if he takes the Bible as his starting-point and guide, and seeks only to expound its utterances, can rightly and

adequately discourse of God? God is upright and just, it is true, as we read in the Psalms, and on this account one can speak of Him so far with less embarrassment and more completeness; He is transcendently elevated and purely omnipotent also, and can bear with unruffled composure the feeble and foolish words of man about Him, examples of which are not wanting in the Bible. But the whole Scripture shows, and especially the Book of Job with its unsurpassed art, how severely is punished all thought and discourse of God that is perverse and wayward, and how easily upon this great theme even a truly pious and upright man may err. Nothing indeed is truer than that no one of us can sufficiently apprehend and fully set forth His incomparable greatness and wondrous Being; while even those who were revealers of God have confessed that human thought cannot fathom His mysterious and hidden depths. "Behold, God is great, and we know Him not!"[1] "Lo, these are but the outskirts of His ways; and how small a whisper do we hear of Him, but the thunder of His power who can understand?"[2]

It is nevertheless not to be denied, whatever some modern sages may affirm, that he who suffers himself to be absorbed and lost in profound contemplation of the living God, he who bathes his own feeble and bounded spirit in His infinite and eternal Spirit will the more clearly and justly apprehend Him, and the better estimate and handle the things of the world and of men. Impressions received in life and endeavour here on earth impel man to strive after that which is beyond himself, and to search into the whole Infinitude which confronts his thought. In this aspiration and quest the spirit mounts up unceasingly and purely from height to height to the certain and luminous realization of the true God; and the more surely man learns to find his repose and to feel himself at home in communion with Him, the more peaceful and penetrating will be his glance into the turmoil and darkness of the world around, and the more will he feel

[1] Job xxxvi. 26. [2] *Ib.* xxvi. 14.

that everything is ordered in its being and its aim by an energy that is inexhaustible and divine. This is the experience of centuries and millenniums; and in this respect no change need be feared from any changes future years may bring. For this reason we may look to the Bible for help, help which we should seek in vain elsewhere. Here is a point of antiquity, far removed from us and therefore the more calmly to be surveyed, in which many of the best minds learned, amid all conflicts with oppression and distress, to seek for serenity of thought and energy of will in the true God and His Spirit; in which in the most grievous and widespread darkness of the rest of the world they learned to do this not for their own happiness and repose alone, but for the light and salvation of a great community experiencing similar needs and sharing a like aspiration; and in which in the ultimate course of events, amid limitations of time and locality, and amid growing errors and widely prevalent inconstancy, perfect success was at last vouchsafed.

§ 152. But it is just this thought of the Invisible that many of our contemporaries would drive out and destroy. On the very threshold of our discussion, therefore, we are conscious how wide is the distance between the age in which we live and the age in which the Bible was written. For who does not know how many of our day, learned and unlearned, wholly deny the existence of God, and press upon us the question, why in the early ages of humanity God is everywhere so much spoken of, and why even to-day some minds that have not advanced with advancing knowledge still think and speak of Him? It seems to them as if there were an enormous and fundamental difference between the present and the past; as if indeed, since the idea of God is the pivot upon which the whole Bible turns, the Bible might serve as a guide and basis for human life in old days, but that now with our radically changed ideas and aims it is not merely superfluous but injurious. This whole view, however, is groundless and mistaken, as the whole Bible itself shows.

For as certainly as the existence of God and His truth are presupposed in Scripture as self-evident, and as surely as the Scripture will remain for all time the incomparably firmest and most luminous literary witness of Him, so it does not deny that there were men of mark enough in its day who like our modern philosophers and their friends wholly denied God, and, regarding this denial as the supreme wisdom of life,[1] looked down upon those who thought otherwise as foolish and antiquated,[2] and lived happily enough to all outward appearance notwithstanding, and were held to be the sages of their time and the rulers of its intellect. We know, moreover, from the Bible itself that they sought to substantiate their denial, partly from the apparent defect and baldness of the conception itself, partly from the lot in life of men who held it;[3] and it looks as if in them we had before our eyes people well known among us to-day. But if we might be troubled and disheartened for the moment at modern unbelief, we must remember, as the Bible shows, that it was in times when religion had lost something of its essential energy and power and was no longer the pride of its nation Israel, and when the deficiency of its ancient constitution and faith began to be keenly felt, that such denial appeared.[4] Indeed, it was somewhat subsequently to the eighth or seventh centuries before Christ that a new darkening of the spirit set in, and the disposition to deny God and divine things paralleled that of our own day. So little did such denials spring from a foreign source; so little was a languid foreign wind, Greek or otherwise, needed to cause these noxious weeds to flourish; and so little is the denial of God a new scientific discovery or a mark of modern and advanced thought.

§ 153. The Bible everywhere presupposes that we can obtain in opposition to all error a true knowledge of God, and

[1] Job ii. 9, xxi. 14 ff.; Wisd. i. 16–ii. 20.
[2] Prov. xxx. 1–14. Cf. Job xii. 6, xxi. 6–15, xxiv. 22–24, xxi. 29 ff.
[3] Job, *passim;* Ps. xxii. 8 ff.; Wisd. ii. 10–20.
[4] Ps. xiv., liii.

it is this it seeks to give us. But not the less does it make prominent and conspicuous that our knowledge of God and things divine is limited. If, indeed, Christ Himself while in the limits of this mortal body definitely asserted His want of knowledge in respect to a matter of importance for religion in His day,[1] we can hardly doubt the reality of this limitation in our own case. The question, however, is, in what does this limitation consist, and whence does it arise?

The true glory of man and his superiority to all the rest of creation consists in part in this, that he has a perception and knowledge of God such as no other earthly creature possesses.[2] Although in his distinction from God, man belongs to the world, yet this apprehension of the Divine constitutes him a wholly different creature from all others, whether animate or inanimate. The Bible everywhere takes this for granted and, as occasion offers, makes it plainly conspicuous. In point of fact, however, there is another characteristic by which even those who are estranged from all religion, and are hostile to it, can measure the distance between man and all other creatures. Whilst all the rest of the world, the greatest and the smallest parts alike, show no free and voluntary progress, man has passed through the greatest changes, but never apart from his own freewill, and always conjointly with some special bent of his own mind; as all history known to us during the many centuries of his existence indicates, and as also the Bible throughout attests. History in its very idea is on this account divisible into two kinds, as different as possible from each other. For we see, indeed, apart from man, in all regions of the universe, not merely changes that are recurring, but such as are progressive, the characteristic of all that we call history, but we see these changes accomplishing themselves while the things that change are merely passive. Of what a different nature, on the contrary, is all human history! And if we would add here that in the stricter sense of the true religion we cannot

[1] Matt. xxiv. 36; Mark xiii. 32. [2] §§ 11–46.

speak, nor does the Bible, of a history of God,[1] we may by this characteristic distinguish, at least provisionally, in what relation man is to be conceived as standing on the one hand to the rest of the world and on the other to God.

Nevertheless, pausing for a moment at this phenomenon of human history alone, we see that the world, however long it continues, manifestly turns upon man in large measure; and the nature and process of all the highest movement and activity of man, briefly indicated above, may give to us a conception of his ultimate destiny. There is a series, a succession of stages, in the moulding and shaping of this world. The present state of things, pre-eminently human, is only a single stage, by no means the first and certainly not the last. If we say that in this period of the world man has a destiny appointed to him by his Creator, we shall not speak incorrectly, provided only the idea of the true God and all the fundamental thoughts of the Bible be accepted. Of what character and what purport this destiny is, there is no doubt. The spirit of man is placed in its earthly conditions only that in the midst of them it may look forth and perceive the visible and palpable all around, and recognise the Divine that is beyond invisibly ruling all, and thus grasp that great divine plan of the universe to the full realization of which man is consciously to contribute.

This being the unalterable destiny appointed for the human creation, it must here be firmly maintained, that man, notwithstanding his incomparable superiority to all other living creatures of earth, has nevertheless, as a created individuality, his limits just as definitely appointed. Enclosed in this earthly body, and active only in connection with it, his spirit may and ought independently to seek and freely to find the

[1] It is almost incomprehensible how a recent German philosopher should so confound the true religion with heathenism as to speak of a "becoming" and "growth" as possible in relation to God. Even of the Spirit in its primary and purest sense to predicate historical change is impossible; it is only where it mingles with the human, or rather where the human brings it down to its own errors, that we can speak of such change.

Divine, even God Himself, in order that, working together with the divine spirit, he may realize the true joy of life, and reach the ultimate goal of his destiny. But because all created life in its primary possibility consists only of a repetition of ebbing and flowing sensuous movements, upon which the universe reacts more or less strongly, man, so long as he moves in this sensuous separate body, can only move within its limits, even in seeking and knowing God. The consequences of this are the following:—

1. Man conceives the Divine only in sensuous images and feelings immediately beheld and experienced; for the spirit of man in its activity is always influenced by the visible and sensuous universe which surrounds it, and is only by such influences and movements pointed to the Divine beyond. All human speech is thus fashioned, and the result is in this case most marked. There is confessedly not a single word in all the different human tongues which in its ultimate origin does not imply something sensuous. It is certain, therefore, that man, notwithstanding all his higher spiritual gifts which should subsequently lead him at the fitting season above and beyond all that is seen and palpable, must from all primitive time downwards have become familiarly conversant with the knowledge and characterization of all objects of the outwardly visible and perceptible universe, before he learned to designate just as clearly all that stands above the sensuous, and that may be distinguished as the realm of pure thoughts or the supersensuous world. Since, however, the idea of God is only the crown and all-embracing sum of these pure thoughts, our contention as to the limits of our knowledge of God is the more readily evident.

2. As a created individuality man is placed in the limits of space and time that his spirit, within these limits indeed, advancing from stage to stage, may apprehend with increasing confidence and completeness the divine forces which, unlike this world of sense, are invisible, which in any moment of his earthly life he never knows perfectly because they are

infinite, and of which each new moment may increase his knowledge. Therefore within such limits man may verily apprehend the Whole of such divine forces, and thereby the true God in His reality; for in apprehending Him he but recognises the Infinite from which he himself has sprung; but he cannot resolve himself into it or become one with it or its knowledge, so long as with continuance of the bodily limit the ebbing and flowing of the necessary sensuous movement is repeated.

3. The spirit of the individual man within its limits may always be affected by the consequences of its own freedom and that of the spirits of all other men, and therefore also by possible error, whilst at the same time the least error, so far as it goes, separates him from the knowledge of God, or at least from the knowledge of a part of the divine working in the future. Thus, then, is this briefly-sketched description of the limits of all human knowledge of God completed. And if these limits vary immeasurably in particular men, in accordance with the incalculable diversity of the strength and purity of the spirit in the individual, yet they are never altogether wanting in any;[1] whilst it is of the highest moment distinctly to remember them.

§ 154. For that such limits of all human knowledge of God actually exist, and are insurmountable in our present temporal experience, may well humble the pride of man in our day and check groundless expectation. Nevertheless it is not, more closely considered, a matter conditioned by creation, so that he who does not assert such limits must not assert creation itself: rather is it best represented as a necessary accompaniment of the incomparable greatness of created man himself, and the indispensable condition of the divine aim for which he is formed. All this, however, must be properly apprehended in its details, just as it is, viz.:

[1] Matt. xxiv. 36 suggests that no mortal man may foreknow and calculate, in its temporal issues, what depends upon the attitude of individual men to God, therefore upon their spiritual freedom, although all is certain to the divine mind.

1. The highest and noblest existence conceivable next to God Himself is that of a creature with gifts and capacities fitting him to know God in all His inexpressible glory and majesty, and by means of this knowledge to shape his conduct in harmony with the Divine. Still higher and nobler is it if this creature does not in the possibility of the supremest joy and blessedness stand alone by itself, but incalculably many share this privilege; and if such possibility diffused among so many does not remain fruitless and inoperative but in the long course of centuries is actually realized in the continuously existing multitude more and more, and from stage to stage,—realized differently, no doubt, in different individuals, largely in some, less in others, or not at all, yet nevertheless so that every creature may enjoy the highest happiness possible to it in this creation, while all at last working together with God, a new and higher creation arises, even as it exists already in the divine thought. If a creature of this type must submit itself to the limit of the mortal body, yet it is shut up therein only that its spirit, stirred unceasingly by a thousand incitements to the knowledge and love of God, may more and more break through the bodily limits to know and love Him alone, and thence to conform its own life to what is manifest of the Divine. All this takes place, however, not as constrained by a blind force, but purely by the incitements from within and from without urging to the surmounting of all bodily limit, and therefore guided by the free movement or, in one word, the freedom of man's own spirit, since to know is always in itself the quest and discovery of truth as against possible error; but it is only the individual search after and finding of the Highest, *i.e.* the Divine, that affords true and infinite joy. Thus the freedom of the human will is given along with this limit, and this is the true nature and original destination of freedom.

2. To surmount the limit of the narrow, dark body, and to apprehend the universe and God, and especially to become assured of the reality of the divine existence, man is thus

impelled; but only as his spirit during the continuance of this creation abides within it, because only in this state can he by his own activity and freewill know God in His whole undoubted certainty, both in His nature and in His work, that with the same free activity he may conform his life to the Divine. Thus a second kind of limit is given to man's knowledge and action. Enclosed in this body, the spirit may and should learn to know God and conform its action to His; but because it is shut up in the body, within space and time, and liable to error, it can never know everything about the things of the universe, and copy all the divine procedure. That is to say, within this limit it may and is to become the imitator of God, but never to be as God Himself, an almighty Creator; consequently it can never know or understand how all individual life arises, and when in the joint working of all earthly things the end of that individual life shall come. This second limit of all human knowledge and action, because the question here concerns the life of man, is a limit of which he may be conscious at every moment, and may at times be painfully conscious; and yet the Bible regards it as in the highest degree necessary to remind man of the inevitable existence of this limit, especially when he seeks arrogantly to ignore it, or endeavours to raise himself above it, as if that were an easy task.[1]

3. In point of fact, however, there is here the purest gain for man, since the ultimate divine aim of his creation is just as unattainable without the second limit as it would be impossible without the first. For if, on the one side, man had the capacity and power to be like God Himself as Creator, he would not first strive to know Him; he would therefore forfeit all possibility of this pure joy and blessedness, as well as surrender the privilege of becoming by conscious aspiration competent to work together with God towards the new and better era of the world; in short, he would lose his whole inborn glory. If, however, on the other side, he knew

[1] Isa. xlv. 9 f.; Rom. ix. 20 ff.; 1 Cor. xiii. 9–12. Cf. § 34.

beforehand exactly the time and character of his own end and that of every other creature, and were in this respect like the Creator, this would cripple the freedom of his will, and, impairing the mightiest prerogative of mind, would rob him of his glory in another way. The first limit, therefore, becomes to man the initial and abiding impulse in the task of realizing the divine aim to which he is appointed; and the second forms his constant safeguard and defence in this same task of his whole temporal life. What seems to be an evil is consequently rather an incomparable advantage, since it runs back in each case to the divine aim itself.

In Scripture this ultimate destiny of the life of the individual man, and of all humanity, is interwoven with the wide circumference of Messianic hopes, but a single brief Biblical proof of it may here be offered. The Apostle John is the latest New Testament writer, and has this special excellence and distinction;—standing at the close of the entire development of the history of all true religion, he perceives and apprehends most clearly, in the widest and most peaceful survey, all its highest points and abiding issues; and with this is combined another distinction,—he accustomed himself, as Christ's beloved disciple, firmly to grasp and loyally to retain during a long life the inmost thoughts and purposes of his Lord. In his Gospel this favoured disciple cites the word of Christ, "No man hath seen God at any time."[1] Now to behold God is the highest aspiration man can cherish,—an aspiration that with its increasing glow may be felt throughout the whole life. But this saying of Christ's which John records may effectually meet and moderate it. Indeed, if in the course of the long ages of time man can attain only in part, and never fully exhaust, all the knowledge he is allured and moved to seek

[1] John i. 18. Cf. John vi. 46, xiv. 6–11. In passages like 3 John 6, when John speaks of seeing God, there lies in his thought the addition, "through or in Christ." John, like his younger contemporary Tacitus, leaves out what is not necessary to say or add. Such terseness of style was part of the culture of the time.

as the supreme joy and satisfaction of his spirit, and as an ultimate end of his existence, how much less has any one ever seen God, whether with his outward or inward eye, or at least so seen Him in whom all creation centres that he can fully explain everything respecting Him, as he might some object of sense with which he is familiar! But the same John says, nevertheless, "We shall see Him as He is,"[1] *i.e.* we shall yet see Him at the close of the present age of the world, and not merely with the spiritual eye as we already see Him in the Old Testament, or more clearly still in the New, by means of Christ's appearing, but immediately, face to face. In these words the apostle expresses, in his own simple and concise way, the end towards which all the profoundest and most thoughtful speculation upon man and his destiny leads us. It lies in the nature of creation and of individual existence that everything has its limits, which it cannot surmount, and in which alone it can rightly develop itself according to its end and aim until that end is reached. And so is it also with man. His limitations are fixed from the beginning, not merely in relation to space and time, but also for the sake of the movement and free action of his mind itself.

III. PROOFS OF THE EXISTENCE OF GOD.

* § 165. That God actually exists, notwithstanding all doubt arising from human weakness, nothing so certainly establishes as the true idea and nature of spirit. Doubt of what is not immediately present to the senses is always possible, and may be useful in order ultimately to consolidate a firmer basis for belief. He who denies God, however, must deny his own spirit also; and in that case, as a primitive

[1] 1 John iii. 2.

* [Paragraphs marked with an asterisk are more or less condensed by the Translator.]

man withdrawn from present-day knowledge and culture, or a man among men in the midst of the progressive working together of the divine and human spirit in history, he will come back again to the recognition of spirit and of God Himself. The denier of God who loves and is devoted to intellectual culture and power, admits the existence of mind or spirit, and must admit also a common mind or spirit standing over all men, in which alone they find themselves mutually intelligible, and can rejoice together in intellectual gifts and exercises; and if this be fully grasped, it will lead to Him without whom mind or spirit itself cannot be a force or hold its sway over men. The more the people of the Bible felt themselves touched in a thousand ways by the Spirit of God, and recognised such influence in their chief men, the less they needed proofs of the divine existence. Elaborate artificial proofs of God are attempted only where His existence is denied, and even then are of little service to a mind satisfied with sensuous objects; the Bible does not give them, although, as we have seen, there were men in its day who rejected God. Against such men in Egypt and Canaan, the living and only true God was made manifest; in Babylon, and under Græco-Romaic rule, they were reproved with earnest words, or, where more suitable, with lofty derision and solemn scorn. Heathen gods are envious of human happiness, and punish by intrigue the arrogance of men. The Bible knows no such conception of God, but represents the heathen as given over to their foolishness, and by its terrible consequences warned in the midst of their security of Him whom they despised. This method of dealing with deniers of God never becomes obsolete.

* § 166. Although giving no proofs of God's existence in technical and scientific form, more closely considered the Bible gives proofs for those who need them, — striking, original proofs, proceeding from the inner certainty of the thing itself, and of living and victorious power. (1) Where from pressure of circumstances the mind is sunk in doubt

or despair, Scripture speaks in the old way of Revelation, or in the direct word of God's prophet and messenger which is its own witness, or in artistic fashion, as in the Book of Job. Proofs are addressed to our capability of perception; the mind must be prepared by experience and made intent by pressure of need to perceive and appropriate in their whole force the highest proofs of God. As the poet in the Book of Job shows the omnipotence and righteousness of God in their distinction and their continual operation, he gives the whole proof required. From creation, as a whole, in its eternal order, omnipotence appears; from history and the human world, righteousness; and both coincide. If God exists, only such can He be, only thus can He act.

In the Hellenistic time a new way of meeting the deniers of God was taken. In the Book of Job, in which there is a prophetic spirit and inspiration, the proof is out of the mouth of God, from above downward. In the Wisdom of Solomon[1] the proof is from below upward, *i.e.* from the greatness and beauty of the universe, and from history to the existence and nature of God. The distinction already familiar to the mind between the heathen and the worshippers of the true God had become a distinction between "nature" and "spirit," *i.e.* between a multitude of men unacquainted with the working of the Divine Spirit, therefore "worldly" or "natural," and the people of God penetrated by that Spirit. The Book of Wisdom shows men by nature vain, not knowing from good things the good, nor from the works the Workmaster;[2] mistakenly, yet inexcusably, stopping short with creation itself, not finding the Lord thereof, but making to themselves gods that are dead. The proof from history is added, but is confined to the exodus of Israel from Egypt and its tokens of divine retribution, for with all his eloquence the author was

[1] Wisd. xiii. 1–10.

[2] Cf. ["tends to know
The works of God thereby to glorify
The great Workmaster."—Milton.]

unequal to a wider survey. Philo and subsequently Paul[1] recognise a similar method of proof of God from creation; but after Christ the historical proof became more manifest and ready to hand. (2) For men distressed by the seductive words or violent deeds of deniers of God, there is no such copious presentation of proof. Short, sharp rebukes of arrogant folly suffice to show what are the true defensive weapons in such case, as in Ps. xiv., lxiv., and Prov. xxx. (3) For all men the Bible is one continuous, manifold, yet consistent proof of the reality of God, in the great characters, events, and teachings He inspires, and in those deeper experiences which lead us in the great history of the world to find Him afresh, without whom that history were a dreary waste. The Bible must be utterly destroyed before doubt of God's existence can be other than a passing cloud over a firm clear heaven.

IV. THE VARIATION OF LANGUAGE CONCERNING GOD.

§ 167. 1. As to the powers and capabilities by which man can know God, and indeed at all times recognise Him, we observe that all our capabilities, even such as are opposed to each other, may be active and serve to this end, and all may unite in it as in no other case. Dividing man's original capabilities into three—(1) The receptive, as feeling and experience, imagination and conception, anticipation, will and desire; (2) the reflective, as intuition, reason, judgment; (3) the recollective, as memory and its deepest and highest power, conscience; we may say that every one of these conceivable capabilities of man leads to the knowledge of God. Of the activity of the first series, the words and deeds of all true prophets give the clearest evidence; of that of the second, the patriarchs afford a luminous example; while the wonderful power of conscience is seen in the later books

[1] Rom. i. 18-20, ii. 14 f.; Acts xiv. 16 f., xvii. 24-31.

of Scripture as well as in the earliest. Everything that man experiences without willing it, everything that forces itself upon his mind, the greatest and slightest, as well as the most violent and powerful feeling, may remind him of God; all reflection and inquiry also may lead him continually to this last of all thoughts and highest of all realities; and all this the more readily, the more Revelation has become a great life-power in human history, the higher the incentives to such knowledge have risen since the days of antiquity, and the more certain the confirmation of the truths of Revelation has become in their corresponding progressive development. For the whole man ever stands over against this single all-comprehensive object of thought, God Himself, and on His part, He too in His infinity stands over against man, although never at any moment can man fully perceive Him in His whole sublimity and Infinitude. So far, then, this reciprocal relation is unique of its kind. For out of the whole incalculable series of individual things, whatever touches the spirit of man only excites in a peculiar way some special capability, his desire or inquiry, his imagination or reason or conscience; and in order to appropriate it he turns towards it only some one special capability. But God touches the spirit of man equally on all sides, although sometimes more particularly on this, sometimes on that; and if man is not to become or continue estranged from Him, he must apply his spirit with all its powers and capacities entirely to Him alone.[1]

§ 168. 2. If now we glance at the way in which the knowledge of God can come to man through the various capabilities of the spirit by which man ever stands open to God and His working, the greatest distinction appears between influences which proceed from the profounder or indeed profoundest agitation of the mind, and those which arise from its more collected repose. Feeling and imagination admit progressively of the highest degrees of excitement; and these are

[1] As the Deuteronomist emphatically teaches, vi. 5, cf. iv. 29, x. 12, xxvi. 16, xxx. 2, 6, 10; and an older example, Joel ii. 12.

always the primary and most immediate sources of any kind of knowledge, and so of this higher and divine knowledge. The supreme excitation is when in the Biblical sense of the terms the spirit of man in all vividness not only hears words from God, but beholds God Himself. In such tension of mind it is as if the fetters of the body would break; but even the most remote and least actually visible object of thought which the human spirit in its struggling efforts seeks to perceive, may, as it watches intently, step forth in all vividness before the bodily sight. And if, according to the narratives of the Bible, theophanies or manifestations of the Divine were customary, at least from the time of the patriarchs down to that of Moses, it is not to be overlooked what a peculiar glow suffuses to the human mind everything it vividly anticipates, and desires above all things actually to experience, or indeed longs to behold in living reality with the living eye, in order to be convinced of its unquestioned existence. As the glowing and ardent longing of the apostles subsequently to the visible departure of Christ was not at rest until the crucified One visibly appeared to them, and as we can trace the fact of this occurrence in the history that lies so much more open to us;[1] so in the earliest times of the human race must the burning desire have been enkindled to see the Invisible as manifest as possible to the eye, and only the manner in which this desire was satisfied, or held to be capable of being satisfied, differed as the forms of worship differed.[2]

But a knowledge of God and His will obtained from any one of such ways of excited feeling is not on this account mistaken. The question is rather, whether and how such knowledge once arisen authenticates itself afterwards in the earnest experience of life.[3] And the same holds good so much the more with respect to all the different ways upon

[1] The Christophanies of the New Testament must thus be closely connected with the theophanies of the Old.

[2] *Revelation; its Nature, etc.*, pp. 218–221. [3] *Ib.* pp. 37–42.

which a knowledge of God is won, because the question is practical, and has really to do with the discovery of God's will to men.

§ 169. 3. It is the characteristic of true religion freely to open up all the avenues of the human spirit by which the knowledge of God and His will may enter in, and the mind may become familiar with it. The religion which the Bible immortalizes, and which it commends as the type of all excellence, has by such means attained its conspicuous development from its first beginnings to its pure consummation; and the way being broken in the progress of this knowledge by aid of all the diversified powers of the mind, most easily has this religion been preserved in the face of serious and long-continued narrowness and limitation of thought. The vivid conception of God will the more readily clothe itself in the language of warmest feeling and figure, the more immediate and unfettered it is; and since the Bible presents to us varied and many-sided evidences of the manner in which the knowledge of God and His will, in all its stages, has arisen in the actual life of a nation, so in its different portions there prevails the language of feeling and imagination, whilst there is not wanting anywhere, with respect to the details of this knowledge, deeper reflection and sure insight.

It is everywhere the immediate impression of the moment which the language of feeling and figurative conception follows. The impression may be very correct, but as it springs from momentary excitation, a single feature of the object of it may very naturally come into prominence. If the object of it is the Infinite itself, *i.e.* God, this language may here and there convey ideas that are opposed to each other, without on that account asserting what is untrue. Each expression may be perfectly just in its place, *i.e.* in relation to the momentary feeling and special circumstance, although in the one the agitated, in the other the more peaceful feeling and contemplation of the Infinite may be

conspicuous. The Bible speaks in many serious passages of the anger of God, and maintains in others, if possible still more serious, that God is not angry;[1] it speaks of His repentance, and yet asserts elsewhere that He is not man that He should repent;[2] it affirms that He sees all things, and yet discourses as if at times He veiled His eyes;[3] it teaches that He is everywhere nigh, nay, everywhere present, and complains nevertheless that He stands afar off;[4] it declares that no man hath seen Him at any time, and yet tells us of His manifestations.[5] Altogether vain would it be to attempt to do away with such apparent contradictions. Where the expression is sensuous, it is as if a poet discoursed, and poetic language need not be taken too strictly. He were an ill poet, and unworthy of a place in the Bible, who with his imagery said anything really wrong; rather must the word of the poet be regarded as spoken from the deepest and therefore the truest feeling. In point of fact, however, such vivid colours of discourse about God are found in the Bible not with the poets only. Yet this much is to be conceded, that such coloured language is more frequent with the poets than with the prophets, and with the prophets than in common discourse. Moreover, it may be noted that such language is more diversified, more copious, more strongly marked in the earlier than in the later times, so that the period of composition of certain portions of Scripture may be distinguished in this way.[6] But these are after all small matters in this question. The utterance of the pious soul to God has always its peculiar fervour, familiarity, and impres-

[1] As Hosea says (xi. 9) at a lofty turn of his long discourse, which is burning with the divine anger, iv. ff.

[2] Joel ii. 14; Gen. vi. 6; Num. xxiii. 19.

[3] Ps. x. 1; and often in Job's complaints.

[4] Ps. xxii. 1, 11, 19, xxxv. 22, xxxviii. 21, lxxi. 12, x. 1.

[5] John i. 18; even still more strongly, 1 Tim. vi. 16.

[6] The "repenting" predicated simply of God in Joel ii. 14, confirms the other proofs for the firmly-established position that Joel is the oldest prophet of whom a prophetic book has been preserved. In the Psalter powerful images, such as Ps. vii. 6 f., xi. 6, xviii. 26 f., cx. 1, indicate actual songs of David.

siveness; no one can take this colour from it; and all human speech is too feeble not to betray itself as such, when the finite spirit, shut up in these bodily limits, converses of or with the Infinite. Indeed, we may go a step further and observe how, according to the few but sublime and ever instructive Biblical examples of it,[1] the language of prayer, if of a leader of the community, shapes itself in the midst of emotion of mind in the solemn festive hour, wholly otherwise than that of the individual man struggling in the deepest needs of life for divine deliverance, as in so many Psalms. But even such prayers cannot hide from our view the fact that the language of fervent piety of God and unto God is always very different from that which weighs and ponders the thought of the distance that ever separates the finite from the Infinite Spirit.

That a contradiction between occasional expressions about God may so far be found in the language of the Bible cannot be denied. But if the fundamental general truths concerning the nature and working of God stand by their side as they do firm as a rock, this varied play of colour in discourse is intermingled, in the incalculable variety of human situations and circumstances, only in such a way as it is inconceivable human words should not intermingle it. And in the struggling needs of life let language be ever so passionately excited by momentary impressions of pain, or let that of devout prayer in sacred places ever so freely overflow with the deepest inward emotion and the most familiar confidence; yet where the true religion, with the fulness and purity of its universal truths, once forms the immovable basis of experience, all these many-coloured changes of discourse are understood only in the higher sense of that religion; there is no thought whatever of denying its great truths, and no direct intention to deviate from them. These universally predominant truths

[1] Not merely in the New Testament such pieces shine forth, as Matt. xi. 25–30; John xvii.; also in the Old Testament, passages like Gen. xxxii. 10–13; 1 Kings viii. 23–53; and songs of the congregation, like Ps. xc. and others, are in this case conspicuous.

about the nature and working of God we have only carefully to recognise, as the Bible teaches them, to comprehend at once how such apparently glaring contradictions can nevertheless so often stand peacefully side by side with them without disturbing the higher unity from which in this case everything originally flows, and to which everything ultimately returns.

In short, we find in the Bible the greatest variation of language concerning God, because, as we may certainly perceive, all the different powers and capabilities of the human spirit are nowhere else so profoundly and fully touched, so freely and fervently moved to discourse of God and unto God, nor so accustomed to it, as in the community of the Biblical religion. Still further, amid all this varied play of change, in which as in one grand orchestra all the different faculties of the human spirit take their part in concert, nowhere does a discord, which we wish absent, offend, or detract from the sublime elevation of God. Nevertheless a progress is here also perceptible from the more sensuous colouring of the earlier ages to the purest and most equable spiritual type of discourse in the later time,—a purification so to speak carried on through two thousand years of culture and development till the highest simplicity conceivable is attained, as we find it in the New Testament. How altogether different was it in heathenism! The child-like innocence of genuine feeling and knowledge of all that is divine appears in the unfading flowers of Vedic song; and then, even early, sensuously low and unworthy thoughts overwhelmingly press in, till at length artificial conceptions and artificially purified expressions intermingle. But neither the language of a Cleanthes, a Callimachus, and of the modern Orpheus, nor that of the later Brahmins and Buddhists, though very divergent, can for one moment compare with the Biblical language in itself and in its development. Nor is it to be denied that already among the Greeks the song of Homer, notwithstanding its beauty and fascination, broke the way

and facilitated the transition to this deep and marked decline.

V. THE PERSONALITY, SPIRITUALITY, LOVE, AND UNITY OF GOD.

* § 170. A special feature of that higher fervid language in relation to God is that, to the human spirit, God, although invisible, nevertheless in all vividness always appears as a being like itself, *i.e.* confronts man as a person. Without doubt this representation goes back to the very earliest ages in which in his quest of Him the existence of God first presented itself to the thought of man. When the hidden, mysterious Being, everywhere sought and difficult to find whose existence and whose light man everywhere felt the need of, came at last in luminous certainty before his spirit, then came before him that Thou which from the very first moment must appear as wholly different from every other Thou, and which afterwards became to him more and more the infinite and eternal Thou, who a thousand times veiling Himself again and becoming lost to him, yet must again with renewed zeal and increasing necessity be sought by him, and seemed with every new discovery only still more wonderful and infinite; and to whom, notwithstanding His immeasurable elevation and wonderfulness, he nevertheless felt himself drawn nearer and nearer as to his only, his first and last helper, and his one eternal and ever-present though invisible friend. Such is God as person, as He confronts man as person, and as He always appears to him; and we may say must always appear to him, so long as man believes in God and will not allow himself to be separated from Him.

This is the primary and true signification of the word person, so often and so seriously misunderstood among us to-day. For the *prosôpon*, which in its re-emergence in the

Latin word *persôna* has undergone some noticeable changes, signifies just "the countenance," then the definite individual man so far as he confronts others and is known as man, since no other visible creature is recognisable and distinguishable to man by the countenance as man is, especially if suddenly and unexpectedly countenance meets countenance. It is just man in his full, living, and moving distinct appearance that is briefly designated "person;" and the word may thence indicate also the self in its best and noblest manifestation,[1] as soul indicates the self in its inner life and worth. There is only One countenance which man once strugglingly sought till he found it confronting him in its whole luminous certainty, which was afterwards ever to be before him, and might ever be before him if he desired to behold it; that is the countenance of God Himself; and this meets him now unceasingly even where he may not wish to see it. Upon one countenance man ought continually to gaze, one countenance only continually to seek, before one countenance never to retire with dread, but look up to it as to the countenance of his one friend, and, as he may be able, speak in its presence, if he desires not that this same countenance should in anger turn itself against him;[2] that is the personal God. No doubt to speak of the countenance of God in this way is to speak human language; but man can only speak of God in human language, and the thought and subject itself will not suffer thereby in the least, if only just views of God are otherwise firmly established in the mind. In this way, in old time, psalmist and prophet spoke of God, realizing His presence and His salvation; and in this way, after Christ's appearing, the more readily could the glowing and joyful heart know and rejoice in Him. Indeed, God appears in the whole Bible as a person, or, as we might say, in all livingness

[1] 2 Cor. i. 11, πολλὰ πρόσωπα in the sense of "many" living actual "men." In ancient times thus arose the word ἄνθρωπος, "man-countenance," *i.e.* actual man, whether male or female.

[2] According to the ancient phraseology in Lev. xx. 3, 5, 6; repeated subsequently, Ps. xxxiv. 16; Ezek. xiv. 8.

and fully-efficient activity.[1] Here lies the charm of the language of the Bible, from the patriarchs downwards through psalm and prophecy to the supreme height of the New Testament; it is language steeped in the fervour of deep feeling and emotion—the language of men who know the reality of the divine love and consolation, and have gazed into the open countenance of God. All possible dangers in speaking of God as a person the Scripture thus avoids, though without undue restraint and anxiety chilling the free fervour of devotion. In its phraseology in this respect there is no suggestion that God is arbitrary and capricious, or acts from sudden wayward impulse as a human person may act.

* § 174. Caprice with God is impossible. The ego in man should control his caprice; in God there is no caprice. If anything may be said to correspond to the nature of God, it is rather the direct contrary of caprice, which in one word we may express as law. Law is the bridle of human caprice; but if about every law as it is apprehended and executed among men there is nevertheless something imperfect, so that it cannot alone suffice for them, there may, on the contrary, very well be conceived a law which fully coincides with the nature and the work of God. For in its pure signification law is the expression and the manifestation of that which, according to the inner proper nature of things, ought to be, and cannot be otherwise, what is fixed and necessarily determined; and in this sense God is from the beginning and always the law of all the universe itself, so that everything that is known and current among men as law goes back to Him so far as it corresponds with Him and His revelation. As it is said in the Bible, "God is spirit," "God is love," when His eternal essence on this side or that is to be defined by a short concise expression; so it would be said, God is law, if there were a place appropriate for it. But such expressions only rarely occur; yet the sense is given frequently, as in the Psalms, "God is my rock," "my salvation," "my light," only these

[1] *Als voll-lebendig, vollwirkend.*

phrases through their primary reference are made much more obvious and intelligible. But God can only be "my Rock" if He is in Himself Rock, *i.e.* immovably and for ever the same, and so the stedfast and immovable defence of His people.

* § 175. "God is spirit;" that is to say not *a* spirit, one among many spirits, but not sensuous, not palpable to sight and sense, but the opposite—spirit. Upon the recognition of this truth Moses built the old community of the true God; Christ regards it as self-evident, and the basis of the new and perfect life. That Moses held this truth is attested not only by the Decalogue, but also by the firm and ancient tradition which assigns to him the phrase "the God of the spirits of all flesh," *i.e.* who knows and judges the innermost thought of men, and in whose spirit all the spirits of men live and move.

* § 180. How does this truth of the pure spirituality of God find expression in the Bible generally and as a whole? (1) Man in distinction from all other earthly creatures is a spiritual being or person, and as such can in thought and aspiration and action never fervently and profoundly enough lose himself in communion with the living personal God; who is ever above him yet, if he will, is so nigh at hand; who is mysterious and hidden yet at times so wondrously manifest, all mystery dissolved. He, the frail, feeble earthly one, can discover aright himself and his way in the Infinite, to Him with inquiry and request, with complaint and sighing, urgently approach, in His countenance find his true strength, his consolation and eternal joy; and indeed upon His will as upon no other confess himself dependent, and in Him though His creature recognise his only eternal helper and friend. The more fervent and familiar is this intercourse of man with God, the more persevering, undisturbed, and transfigured it becomes, the more fully before his eyes do the clouds part, the clouds that veil all knowledge and hope and faith, and the more invincible becomes his spirit in God and His spirit. This is the basis of all true religion, first for

the individual, then for the whole great community, and in many things by means of this again for all men. So now we see individual men as well as the community, in the Book of Psalms and in similar portions of the Bible, placing themselves in this relation to God, addressing Him with the most human, spontaneous, and child-like speech, as if from man to man, or as if the Invisible stood visibly present to the sight; and yet no word is uttered, no thought arises that does violence to the certainty that He, the only Almighty One, is no object palpable to sense, no Being of the sensuous world; and in all such thinking and discourse and consequent action the spirit of man allows itself to draw near only to the spirit of God. (2) Moreover, prophets and prophetically-minded historians abound in images and representations of God's working among men, and speak often as if God were beheld as man acting and discoursing, and thus bring down the Infinite and Divine to the finite and human; but always do they retain a certain elevation of thought and language even where as in the narratives of the time of the patriarchs the picturing is boldest. (3) Furthermore, the relation of man to God amid the complications and enigmas of life is represented with clearness and dignity, with artistic power and deep instructiveness, as in the Book of Job; but never as with the heathen is a stage-play made of it. The word does everything; and the human word is in itself spiritual, coming immediately from the spirit and addressing itself directly to the spirit. (4) Last of all, Christ in the New Testament revives the old freshness and simplicity of discourse, then largely lost or perverted by allegory; and if in the apostolic time the person of Christ and the power of the Holy Spirit are exalted to the Christian Heaven, there is not only shown the lofty transcendent mind of the Old Testament, but God becomes nearer and more vividly certain to man.

* § 194. With omnipotence as comprehending the whole significance of the word, "God is spirit," the mind cannot rest. The question is asked, whereto it serves? "God is

spirit," as against the universe, that is the first fundamental truth, the first predicate of the subject, God. Many predicates are needed to describe worldly natures, one predicate includes everything that underlies the essential nature of God. To this a second is added, equally simple, equally comprehensive, and the question just raised is answered; for "God is Love." Akin to so much Christ Himself said, and to the whole circle of thought in which, in the spirit of His Lord, John moves, this sentence without doubt comes from Christ. It means God is not to be conceived without love; love conditions His being so perfectly and so exclusively that He is what He is because of it. Love is not like spirit, the mere impulse and power of a life; it is that definite power and impulse which determines and fills the movements and acts of God as spirit, and differentiates His life in our thought from other conceivable kinds of life. The world is created as the scene and sphere of the infinite manifestation and realization of love, in which, out of God's infinite fulness of love, love ever works. Language only with difficulty finds a word to designate the love of God—a love without self-seeking and sensuous passion.

* § 197. But the relation of love is reciprocal: its forms of manifestation are varied and diverse according to man's willing participation in it or otherwise. In upholding the order of creation and its end,—the realization of love,—the Creator must turn against the creature who resists His will. In the painful results of resistance man feels the "anger" of the Creator. The idea is derived from human anger, but has its full justification. The more earnestly a religion conceives the relation of man and of all human history to God, the less will it shrink from admitting the thought of God's anger. Prophet and psalmist eloquently depict it; the Baptist, too, and the apostles take up the word; Christ, though Himself not incapable of anger, rarely mentions it, but the Apocalypse sets forth the "wrath of the Lamb." God's anger is zeal for His law and kingdom as

against sin which opposes both, and is the zeal of wounded or violated love.

* § 198. But love always retains its superiority over anger, and in its working superabounds. The sins of the fathers are visited upon the children to the fourth generation, mercy is kept for (unlimited) thousands. Not anger but love is beyond all conception God's chief attribute. Even the chastisements of God are the chastisements of fatherly love. This transfigured thought of love, as first and last in God, penetrates more and more the deeper life of the old community; becomes the foundation of Messianic anticipations, and of the zeal and stedfastness of the better prophets; rings in calm sure tones through the songs of devout singers; seeks in Job its sublimest and convincing proof; enters at length into the realm of the old sacred traditions to clothe them afresh with new charm; and finally, as with other great truths, does not remain simply a demand of thought, but in Christ's appearing finds its most glorious realization and fulfilment, and so recognised by the Apostles Paul and John, becomes for all time and for all nations an imperishable truth, the unfailing spring of the most blessed and beneficent life.

* § 207. The setting of the truth, "God is one," as of the two truths previously presented, is of a somewhat late period. But the first commandment involves it; Job states it incidentally; the Deuteronomist expresses it definitely, with solemnity and emphasis, when demanding undivided love and unwavering loyalty to Jahveh. The preamble of the Decalogue gives the ground of the first commandment, for He who redeems is Lord and Judge; but the immediate purpose might be to guard against reverence for Kamôsh, Moab's god. Zechariah connects this truth with Messianic hopes;[1] Paul, in the Galatians,[2] with the unbrokenness of all divine truth in history.

* § 210. Amid the plurality and diversity of religions more

[1] Book of Zechariah, xiv. 9. [2] Gal. iii. 20.

or less false, to know and cleave to the one true God was from the first not so much a divine dowry as a divine task. The fascination and apparent advantage found in manifold deities must be resisted, and truth become more distinctly realized and more firmly held from its contrast with error. Neither in the Bible nor out of it can we trace historically the rise and progress of monotheism up to Moses. Sacred tradition in Israel clearly and rightly assigns the chief place in such early beginnings to Noah, to Abraham, and the patriarchs, but would have acknowledged them elsewhere could they have been found. Moses stands alone in this great history with his clear knowledge of God, and the founding of a community upon it. In the long and obstinate conflict which succeeded down to the times subsequent to David and Solomon, Jahveh was the one God of this nation, inseparable from the very thought of it, and more and more recognised in His truth and in the blessedness of His salvation. Indeed, Jahveh became now the one sole glory and chief boast of Israel, the battle-cry against the enemy, the only confidence and hope of the national life, celebrated after the precedent of the Song of the Red Sea in a thousand lyrics which resounded in the solemn annual festivals preserving freshly the remembrance of His deeds of salvation, and having also in priest and prophet never-failing and eloquent advocates and servants, who rehearsed the high truth and immortal power of this great and splendid name. Nay more, Jahveh, the one Lord, became and remained as the better soul and undying life of this people, so also the true unity of the nation and its religious fellowship; and that other gods should not have sway in their midst, but He alone should be their God, was regarded as self-evident and unquestioned truth.

In the New Jerusalem, however, the particularism involved in the phrase, the God of Israel, was to some extent surmounted, and the disadvantage of binding up the worship of the one God with the fortunes of one nation overcome.

The view widens out already, until it compasses the significance of the true God for all mankind, and rises above the conception of the God of Israel in any limited sense. Nor would the truth have suffered or been hindered in its diffusion had it come from a smaller circle of humanity than Israel. Even in Israel one tribe was specially charged with its maintenance and preservation, Levi; nay, one man, Moses: as also Christ, in the greatest day of all history, bore in Himself and revealed in His whole manifestation the full and peculiar conception of God which marks the Christian faith. Indeed, it must ever be so, for such is the law of progress in the promulgation of truth. Nothing stands firmer than that the knowledge of the truth of God, in the course of all human history, must first proceed from a smaller circle, nay, strictly speaking, from one man, in whom it lives in its intensest and freshest power. Only in ever-widening circles can it spread, and only from stage to stage can it become a sure possession of all mankind. But certainly to secure continuance and further development, it is better that it should rest in a community ever increasing, than in the mind and spirit of one, or a few individuals. It is the highest praise of Moses[1] that, according to that grand narrative, he refused the honour of being himself the new central-point from which a nation of the true God should proceed. The duty, however, whether of the smallest or the widest circle where truth dwells is thence so much the more to take care that it should go forth from its midst speedily and with increasing prevalence, in order that it may ultimately reach and compass all mankind. So did the mighty Messianic hopes, specially embracing Israel first of all, grow into hopes for all the world.

VI. UNITY IN THE REALM OF SPIRITS.

* § 214. According to the Bible, intermediate spiritual beings or divine spirits fill up the wide distance between

[1] Ex. xxxii. 31–xxxiii. 6, 12–17. Cf. *History*, ii. 183 ff.

God and man,[1] and form a kingdom of themselves. How are we to regard this realm, especially as evil spirits appear in it, and what is its relation to the divine unity? Difficulty arises from the diversity in the Biblical representations, and from the fact that scarcely here and there is a hint, and nowhere is a precise doctrine of angels or spirits, given. Nevertheless the idea of the true God is almost everywhere a safeguard against serious error. Our survey may distinguish five periods.

* § 215. I. To the primitive pre-Mosaic mind a countless host of divine spirits seemed to fill the entire universe, and especially the human world. The forces of nature, the shocks and changes in human history, were attributed to the power of spirits, good or bad; and a fresh, child-like imagination gave more and more definite life and coherence to these creations of fancy. One spirit might acquire pre-eminence in the thought and lead on to the idea of God. Whenever it was that the mind of man was first animated and inspired by such idea, a first movement was then made towards revelation and monotheism: a beginning only, which on one side diverged into polytheism, with its myths or fables of the gods. But there are no myths in the Bible; the mythical element is heathenish, or of heathenish tendency. Amid early aberrations a feeling for the Better and the True was not wanting. The mission and work of Moses are inexplicable on any other hypothesis. The Bible shows us the patriarchs holding fast the knowledge of the true God against the more sensuous tendencies of idolatrous wives and children; and nowhere supposes Babylonish, Egyptian, or Canaanitish polytheism as the original form of faith. Till Moses, however, the imperfect beginnings of true divine knowledge were not effectually separated from idolatry, nor old ways of thinking thoroughly transformed.

[1] The doctrine of angels is commonly included in that of creation, as if angels were only creatures like the rest, and must be considered as on a level with them. How erroneous this is, and even contradictory to the sense of Scripture itself, will be seen.

* § 216. II. During and immediately after the Mosaic period only so much of the earlier conception could be retained as could accommodate itself to the new fundamental thought of God. The feeling of the infinite number and variety of divine powers working in the world was reconciled with the knowledge of the one God by regarding such powers as divine envoys and representatives, and the new name "messengers of God" or "angels" was given to them. 1. Such messengers are a medium of divine revelation; lead the way in difficult but divinely-approved undertakings; shield the godly from danger; stir up to war; bring pestilence; chase and annihilate foes. There is no distinction between good or bad angels; the bad spirit is sent of God;[1] so firmly is the idea of the unity of the whole realm of spirits retained. 2. Their forms are glorious as became their nearness to God; human, as if they were the original type of all human beauty. They come and go suddenly, unexpectedly; they discourse as heavenly prophets, and speaking in the name of Jahveh they are themselves sometimes spoken of as god or gods; and it is only gradually and especially by their sudden disappearance that it is recognised that they are angels of God.[2] 3. They are regarded as on a footing of equality with one another; yet as Israel was specially God's, so the angel that led Israel was Jahveh's angel, and received the honour and consideration proper to his Lord. This was especially the case when there was no prophet like Moses, and no king in the nation; and it reappears also in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, which somewhat reproduced the time of the Judges. They had no name; but Jahveh's angel bore with him, for authentication and defence, the name of the Lord, as an ambassador the signet of the King. 4. They come singly and execute their commission. But in sacred places, or where the faithful assemble for prayer, many are present.

* § 217. There would have been no thought of a realm of spirits, if there had not been previously a profound recognition

[1] Judg. ix. 23; 1 Sam. xvi. 14–23, xviii. 10. [2] Judg. vi. 21 f., xiii. 20–23.

of what spirit and God signify. Heaven is regarded as the home of these spirits, and their unity rests upon their relation to God, whose servants they are, and whose commands they wait to receive and execute. They are as one of the many and different arches of the temple of the genuine Mosaic religion. When the warlike spirit prevails, they are the irresistible, well-marshalled army of the Lord of Hosts. When other times come, and counsel and wisdom are needed, they wait around the judgment-seat of the Lord of all the world to execute His decisions; in such cases, however, they are not so much messengers as "gods," or to express their subordinate relation, "sons of God," as the younger members of the royal house were king's sons. Moreover, they are eternally young; and in the simple and innocent conceptions of Mosaism there is no desire to know anything of bad spirits.

* § 218. III. In the third age, the ideas concerning the realm of spirits rapidly expand, and with rare boldness and freedom. The firm basis of true religion Moses laid is not subverted, it is true; but with the power and glory of the new kingdom wider and more varied conceptions of the spiritual world arise, conceptions showing their development chiefly in three directions. 1. The idea of God admits of no addition from creative imagination; it is otherwise with ideas concerning angels. The fourth narrator of the primitive history breaks through the old rigid limits, and in the story of the angels who reveal the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, surpasses in vivid picturing all that is found elsewhere in the Bible: the angel of Jahveh appears with two ordinary angels who execute the divine judgment. Poets and artistic writers soon follow upon the path thus opened. The angel of Jahveh becomes, in the Book of Isaiah, the angel of the countenance of Jahveh,[1] as the first minister of a king who stands continually before him; or the prince of the army of heaven, "the captain of the Lord's host," as in Joshua.[2] Subsequently angels as priests surround the divine throne interceding on

[1] B. Isa. lxiii. 9. [2] Josh. v. 13–vi. 2.

behalf of the earthly kingdom of God; or are "watchers" of God's indestructible sanctuary;[1] the former conception being very much favoured at the time when the earthly temple had been destroyed.

* § 219. 2. Representations and usages of the primitive age are not, as we have seen, at once extirpated by the true religion, but are rather taken up into its own circle of ideas, united with its truths, and remodelled accordingly. Two cases of this kind are very important. (1) The first is that of cherubs and seraphs, winged celestial forms in the service of the supreme God. The cherubs are of huge dimensions, the means of divine communication between heaven and earth, and thence tokens of the coming and presence of God, guardians of places sacred to Him, and so of the ark; the seraphs are of delicate mobile form, keen-eyed watchers around His footstool, and are only rarely mentioned, but they were once of high significance. (2) The second case is that of Azazel,[2] a bad spirit, dwelling in the desert, invading cultured lands to injure man, associated with uncomely shaggy beasts of forest and wilderness,[3] the direct contrary of cherub and seraph, and indeed opposed to Jahveh. Azazel was not an essential element in Mosaic faith, but a relic of earlier times, preserved in national games and festive usages,[4] as were old heathen gods in the Middle Ages in Germany. Mosaism devoted the so-called scapegoat to Azazel. (3) Other old ways of representing things spiritual and divine reappear in the prophets, especially in Ezekiel, to some extent also in Job, but Jeremiah refrains from using them. There might be something of Assyrian influence in Ezekiel's bold picturing, but the basis of all such strongly-coloured presentation of divine things is primitive. Where these world-old conceptions had an inner truth in them, that was seized upon and applied; where they were irreconcilable with the spirit of the true religion, they

[1] B. Isa. lxii. 6 f. [2] Lev. xvi. 8–10. Lev. xvii. 7.

[4] *Antiquities*, pp. 362–3. [Where Ewald says, in a note, "It is an error to identify Azazel with the later Satan; historically at any rate they cannot be brought into connection."—Tr.]

were dealt with in different fashion, and employed under the dominance of that spirit to illustrate higher truths. (4) The old reverence and awe in contemplation of the starry heavens also returns; the stars in Deborah's song, in Job and in Isaiah,[1] are images of the angels surrounding God's presence; the "star of Jacob," of Balaam's prophecy, and the "Lucifer, son of the morning," in the Book of Isaiah, and the like, do not necessarily suggest Babylonish influence. Nevertheless, in Israel such conceptions always lie in the background, or are rather the flowers and adornments of discourse; actual reverence for the orbs of heaven is firmly rejected.

* § 220. The motley and numerous mythological ideas of early times that continued to exist in Israel side by side with the doctrine of the true God and the thought of His messengers and angels, found no free development. They were hostile and irreconcilable, they remained fixed and without flexibility. In the heroic age from Moses to David, no epic was conceived, nor could be conceived, though the materials were given. The cause lay in the irreconcilablity of Jahveism, and its purely good angels and spirits, with the heathen conception of a world of deities many of whom were evil. But the narrow circle of the older representations was at length boldly broken through, even to the imperilling of the fundamental truth concerning God, when the idea of Satan arose. Whence did it come? Not from the thought of bad spirits which Israel never lost after the time of Moses, nor from the primitive superstition of satyrs or any other sportive and mischievous creatures of heathen fancy, but from the thought of an angel of God become an adversary (Satan) to man for heeding not Jahveh's warning, as in the case of Balaam.[2] The Hebrew word for a bad enemy, Satan, is suggestive of what is hidden and secret, like the occurrence of a bad thought or a whispered word of temptation. A bad spirit

[1] Job xxv. 3, xxxviii. 7; B. Isa. xl. 26.

[2] Num. xxii. 22–32. היה לו לשטן, "to be to him for Satan," *i.e.* to be an adversary against him.

tempts David to number Israel; here an angel is not said to become a Satan, but the spirit is the expression of the divine anger against David. As in a kingdom there is a public prosecutor, some poet might make conspicuous one out of a multitude of accusers or Satans who would henceforth become "the Satan." In Job Satan is introduced without explanation as a known and familiar conception. In Zechariah[1] the angel of the Lord vindicates, but Satan accuses, Joshua: here the representation is less simple. But the whole conception is purely Hebrew; to trace it to Persian sources is groundless and unhistorical. Nevertheless, a bad yet divine spirit is, in the true religion, a contradiction; and if such spirit is thought of as conditionless, an insoluble contradiction. The true religion, however, keeps out heathen fancies, accepts the belief that even divine spirits may err and go astray, and now at length speaks of those angels as "holy" who surround God's throne as intercessors or as interpreters of God's will for man; so the unity of the divine rule is preserved.

* § 221. IV. During and after the exile it was very difficult to resist the influence of the wisdom, the art and customs of the Eastern nations who dominated the world; and especially when the Persians, distinguished as they were by an earnest religion, were supreme. Israel was in a receptive and plastic mood: even the liberation of Cyrus gave them no lasting energy or pure independence. Zoroastrian usages and ideas were strongly felt, not, indeed, in the value of the higher truth concerning God, but in conceptions as to the lower world of spirits. The later prophets show this in comparison with Jeremiah and Ezekiel; and in the following centuries new appropriations not free from danger are perceptible. Three chief forms of such influence may be distinguished.

1. Zoroastrianism sharply divides impure from pure, bad from good spirits, and its whole religion rests on this distinction. Nothing can be more opposed to Mosaic mono-

[1] iii. 1–3.

theism than the dualism of the Persian faith, with its kingdom of Ormusd and Ahriman in perpetual conflict. The Mosaic and the Persian conceptions could not and did not blend, as did subsequently Christian and Oriental; but the mind of Israel in its oppression and discontent furnished for centuries a favourable soil for the introduction of some perilous elements from the darker side of Zoroastrian ideas. (1) Belief in the spirits of the desert revived; and in the creatures of the waste places,[1] referred to poetically in the Books of Isaiah and Jeremiah; in Zephaniah and in the demons of Baruch, we hear the echo of this belief and mark the characteristic of the new time. (2) The fear of bad spirits and demons now fully enters into Israel, and is not dispelled until Christ comes. Even in the Book of Isaiah[2] night spirits, ghosts, liliths are spoken of; in Tobit, Asmodeus, a wicked spirit, is prominently mentioned; the old heathen gods are regarded as demons; the Septuagint often translate "idols" by "demons," while the name "bad angels" disappears. (3) Satan is now regarded as fully separated from God, vehemently opposed to Him, purely hostile in nature, and an autocrat over an infinite host of bad spirits, indeed an independent Lord. The idea of Satan is also now connected, and rightly, with the serpent in Paradise. In the last centuries before Christ the imagination was very active on this subject as new and affording large material for reflection; and probably about this time Satan was represented by some poet as a spirit who had fallen through self-seeking and love of untruth, and as bringing death into the world; of all which there is no trace in Job. So also he was connected with Beelzebub and Belial, and made to have his home and servants in the lower air.

* § 222. 2. Again, Zoroastrianism holds that to every visible, sensuous existence a spirit corresponds as its counterpart, separable and independent, and visible by others in fine

[1] Isa. xiii. 21 f., xxxiv. 13 f.; Jer. l. 39, li. 37; Zeph. ii. 13; Bar. iv. 35.
[2] xxxiv. 14.

aerial or luminous form. This doctrine, consistently carried out, gives a new conception of the universe. In the origin of it we see the second source of all ideas of spirits, the first being man's feeling of contact with a higher spiritual nature and a mightier spiritual power in revelation. On the other hand, a spirit may go forth from man corresponding to him, and be conceived as his permanent and better nature, separated from all that is mortal and sensuous, imperishable in death. Moreover, as over against changing, feeble, earthly priests, the possibility of heavenly, immortal priests was imagined, so over against imperfect realizations of duty in living men was a lofty spiritual ideal placed, which was detached from them as their spirit. Such conceptions being carried through every part of the human and non-human world, many and diverse spirits appeared to fill the universe. Coming into close connection with the true religion, there arose from these conceptions the strange blending of ideas and representations, of which the most important are—(1) that the spirits of things are their angels,—angels in harmony with the old Hebrew way of thinking; and (2) that everything in this realm of spirits is, as far as possible, subject to the unity of the supreme will of the true God. Thus every man has his angel, or spiritual counterpart and phenomenon; every community of men also; every authority and power of earth, good or bad; every great heathen state; and even the elements—air, fire, water, wind. No book now exists in which this whole view of things is set forth creatively and at large. But much that occurs in the later prophets, in some of the Epistles, and in the Apocalypse, we are thereby enabled to understand. For example, the "Rahabs, dragons, leviathans," "high ones on high," of the Book of Isaiah; the "princes of Persia and Javan," of the Book of Daniel; the "thrones, dominions, principalities, powers," "the world-rulers," "the spiritual hosts of wickedness in heavenly places," and "the prince of the power of the air," in the Ephesians and Colossians; "the angel of the under-world,"

"the angel of the waters," "the angel having power over the fire," in the Apocalypse; and even in the Acts, when Rhoda announces with gladness that Peter is at the gate, the reply, "It is his angel,"—these[1] and other passages may thus be explained. Nor is it surprising, when this whole representation is considered, that the Book of Enoch should speak of the true God as "Lord of Spirits."

§ 223. 3. The more numerous and diversified the spirits became, the greater the need for names and numbers. This is genuinely Zoroastrian, but in Jahveism it is an innovation. The name Asmodeus is taken over in Tobit;[2] but this is exceptional, generally everything is recast as it comes into the circle of Hebrew ideas. There is imitation and rivalry; the round numbers are sometimes the same; but new names of Hebrew derivation are employed. The development from Zechariah to Daniel was considerable. Perhaps the chief points to be noted are the following:—(1) Zechariah[3] modifies what he appropriates. "Seven eyes" are engraved by the hand of God on the headstone of the new temple, but these eyes are the "eyes of Jahveh," and the stone is "one," and the eyes represent as in sevenfold form the Mosaic angel of the countenance, while the seven lamps and the number seven are Mosaic. The Zoroastrian conception is that of seven good spirits surrounding the throne of heaven, as seven princes or councillors surround the throne of the earthly king. In the Apocalypse,[4] the seven lamps of burning fire before the throne are the seven spirits of God. Moreover, Zechariah's expression,[5] "Jahveh's eyes run to and fro in the earth," is closely connected with the four angels or spirits of heaven who go forth from the Lord with quick chariots and horses. Tobit's "seven holy angels;" Daniel's "watchers and holy ones of heaven;" Timothy's "elect angels," are

[1] Isa. xxx. 7, xxiv. 21 f., xxvii. 1, li. 9; Ezek. xxix. 3; Dan. x. 13, 20 f.; Col. i. 16; Eph. vi. 11 f., cf. i 21, ii. 2, iii. 10; Rev. ix. 11, xvi. 5, xiv. 18; Acts xii. 15.

[2] Tob. iii. 8, 17.

[3] Zech. iii. 9, iv. 10, 2.

[4] Rev. i. 4, iv. 5.

[5] Zech. iv. 10, i. 8, vi. 1–8.

also essentially related conceptions.[1] Some writer between Zechariah and Daniel must have given to the Zoroastrian seven spirits Hebrew names. Four of such names, compounded with *el*, *i.e.* God, and answering to the "man," "lion," "ox," "eagle" of the cherub, we can gather from Daniel and Enoch, viz. Michael (who is as God), the ancient Jahveh-angel; Uriel (fire of God); Raphael (health-God); Phanuel (countenance of God). The three remaining places were supplied by the cherubs and seraphs, but in such a way that Ophane,[2] the living chariot-wheels, representing the holy chariot, was united with them. To these seven angelic natures, Gabriel (the man-God), angel-interpreter, and heavenly friend of the prophet, being added, the first imaginative view of good angels is completed. Similarly, seven bad spirits were conceived as about Satan, four surrounding their ruler, and three connected with the throne. Sammael, the poison-god, answers to Raphael. But the whole series was long treated with freedom. (1) In Enoch, Gabriel is put in the place of Uriel; multiples of the number seven are employed; and an angel of punishment has special prominence. (2) Things, places, signs of divine power long held sacred have new and striking names of spirits given to them, as "Abaddon" for the under-world, "the gates of death," and the Talmudic name for the rain-angel. (3) To creatures of the earth spirits are poetically ascribed, as in the Psalms, Ecclesiasticus, and the Apocalypse. Thus the threefold gradation of the realm of spirits extends, as in the last three verses of the 103rd Psalm, (*a*) to God's immediate presence; (*b*) to the powers of nature, as stars, winds, and the under-world; (*c*) to earthly creatures. The whole universe is thus summoned in its spiritual hosts to praise God, and the chief conception of Jahveism remains uninjured.

* § 224. The significance of this greater freedom in the view taken of the world of spirits may now be estimated.

[1] Tob. xii. 15; Dan. iv. 13, 17, 23; 1 Tim. v. 21.
[2] From Ezek. i. 15–21; cf. *Prophets*, iv. 29 f.

The change began before the contact with Zoroastrianism; this only accelerated it. But for the feeling of restraint prevalent still in the old community, something far more after the fashion of a great heathen epic than examples such as the Book of Tobit gives, might have been attempted. There did, however, arise such works as the Books of Enoch and the Book of Jubilees. Probably angelic narratives were preferred the more the desire was felt not to speak too sensuously of God. It was in these last times that angels were represented as winged; the innovation starting from the conception of cherub and seraph. The change is marked in Daniel, where Gabriel is said to draw near "in full flight."[1] The whole patriarchal representations suggest not winged but rather glorious human forms; Jacob's ladder upon which angels of God ascended and descended would have no appropriateness if angels were winged. Angels of light are now also distinguished from Satan, a fiery dragon, and his angels.

* § 225. As a whole, the innovation did not mark any progress, but was rather a peril and danger to the true religion. A great gulf was placed between the kingdom of the Good and the Bad; and Satan with his crowd of angels and spirits was regarded too much as just as independent and powerful as God Himself. This was of course denied in words; but of what avail was it simply to give to Satan an origin only at the beginning of the world, and place his overthrow at the extreme end of it, if meanwhile he dominated with a despotic power over all its long history? That the supreme truth of the divine unity had suffered deeply, and that it had vanished so completely from thought and realization in practical life that it could be restored only with difficulty, was evident and manifest. One proof of it may be seen in the difference between David's exorcising Saul's evil

[1] Dan. ix. 21. [Gesenius renders "wearied in flight;" but explains "flight" by "a swift course;" and adds "LXX. τάχει φερόμενος." In the Vat. πετόμενος is found.]

spirit, and the difficulty or impossibility of exorcising demons of the later time. Moreover, on the one hand, demons grew more numerous and were held as for ever lost, while on the other, angels and angel-princes were looked upon as mediators with God, and appealed to in prayer as never in the Psalms or the Old Testament. From the Essenes similar errors penetrated into the early Christian Church. While Sadducees denied both angels and spirits, Pharisees delighted in gross conceptions such as are found in the Books of Maccabees, and such as in their case became a new kind of heathenism. But the development of the true religion in this nation forbids our treating this thought of Satan's almost limitless power as merely casual or accidental. Whatever other reasons there were for this more terrible view of Satan, the chief reason was that the changes and trials of its history had given to this community a fuller conviction of the tenacious power and ever-growing weight and burden of evil, and a deeper and still deeper consciousness of the earnest conflict it involved. Where the idea of the true life is clearly and fully realized, the idea of death is the more frightful. The days had long passed away when evil could be playfully driven out in annual festivity, or when poetry could rise to a conception of Satan like that in the Book of Job.

* § 226. 5. Only Christianity could lift this heavy weight, and bring the whole movement of thought to its true end. It did this, however, not by a direct one-sided effort, but by its whole tendency, and by the perfecting of all true religion. (1) Christ's whole life was one long conflict with evil; and where the power of evil was most concentrated, viz. in demoniacal possession, there salvation and healing were specially and signally wrought. Before the presence and word of Christ, demons fled, and Satan himself. But not in the traditional sense so much was Satan regarded, rather as associated with the stirring of all evil thought in the mind, as is seen in Christ's rebuke of Peter. Filled with Christ's spirit, the disciples realize in the new kingdom that Satan's

power is broken; the prince of this world, this decaying heathen condition of things, is cast out. (2) Upon the whole realm of spirits a new light is thrown, giving to it its true meaning as representative of the divine presence and influence upon man and in the whole creation. There was no denial of the existence of angels, but a return to the simpler colouring of the early narratives, and a disapproval of all fear of spirits and all worship of angels. (3) Especially is it manifest that neither in itself nor at any moment of its existence does the realm of spirits set aside the rule of the one God, or break up the unity of His power. Mythology, whether heathen or demoniacal, vanishes before the true God. Good angels are servants of God, devils believe and tremble, but bear no fruit of faith.

* § 227. The doctrine of spirits finding its conclusion in youthful Christianity, fittingly and artistically represents the deep significance and conflict of historical spirits, *i.e.* men, with super-historical, *i.e.* in some sense divine spirits. The long development ends, all allowable freedom is obtained, and the Christian spirit, bringing back everything to the unity of all that is divine, brings both the true freedom and the true consummation to this development. Artistically angels represent some one special quality or idea; they are not as man of mixed nature, mutable, variable. The tendency of its own spirit no angel can change.[1] To appeal, on the contrary, to fallen angels is hardly admissible, as the conception is quite isolated, and rests upon a later interpretation of the sixth of Genesis. But angels are spoken of as desiring to penetrate the mysteries of salvation. As to the number of angels, art has a wide field, and as to the fear of them the older conception makes it a means of chastisement in the hand of God. Heathenism would create a goddess out of this terrible fear, and worship it; Jahveism stops where a false devotion might be fostered, and only takes out of

[1] Similarly as an immovableness of gaze marks to the Hindoo the appearing of a god, or as the heathen god can be no other than it is.

heathenism what is true and applicable to the true religion. The darker side of the realm of spirits attains in Christian art its freest presentation in the Apocalypse. But such freedom never falls into the mistakes that have appeared in Italy and elsewhere since the fifteenth century.

[In § 244, Ewald says, "Angels are purely spiritual beings; they belong to God and spirit. The Bible nowhere says they were created; still less suggests when they were created. The spiritual and divine extends in a thousand ways into this material universe, but it does not first exist by or with the universe. The curious questions whence angels came and how long they have existed belong to Gnosticism. The Book of Jubilees undertakes to answer them, and shows its better sense by not making bad angels existent on the first day of creation. Strictly speaking also angels are without variability of character, variability belonging only to created beings, and indeed properly only to man. Bad angels in Scripture are angels who execute divine punishment on man. In the latest books of the New Testament, Jude 6, 2 Pet. ii. 4, are echoes of representations found in the Book of Enoch. The origin and idea of bad spirits may be traced to Gen. vi. 1–4, where the sons of God are spoken of as mingling with the daughters of men. There may be thus ground for anticipating that one day Satan and all his angels will be destroyed."]

VII. THE NAME AND NAMES OF GOD.

§ 228. There is no single idea which, when once it has entered into human consciousness and speech, is able to maintain itself so unchanged amid all the changes of time, as the idea of God. It has in reality but little in common in point of separability with other ideas,[1] and it suffers by means of them no permanent obscuration. Like God Himself, the idea of Him is to humanity not only equally necessary and

[1] As, for instance, the idea of "man," which is at once separable by others, as "husband," "wife," "child."

indispensable, but also altogether incomparable; and, as is said of Him in His essential Being, it absolutely brooks no rival. The Hebrew language has a simple and in the highest degree primitive name for God, which represents this purely unique, incomparable, unchangeable, and uniform characteristic. The more there arose gradually in the long course of the full development of the idea of the true God many other names, some of which stood in the highest respect, and found free currency for very long and seemingly unlimited periods, the more distinctly is this characteristic observable. In point of fact, this persistent continuance without change, from the first recognisable ages to the end, of a single name for God, side by side with a number of other names that were successively used, is one of the most peculiar and rightly understood instructive phenomena which the Bible presents to us. By the names of God, however, is meant here not the many designations that in freely varying discourse, as His various attributes are contemplated, may have been employed, but the brief designations actually current as standing names for God.

The Hebrew *Elo'ah* is etymologically and historically the remarkable word by which the simple but true idea of God has been preserved firmly from remotest times, all through the great and constant changes that followed. It goes back to the very beginning of the whole Semitic family of languages, and has been firmly retained from primitive times as few other words have in all the Semitic tongues save one.[1] According to its formation it signifies properly "power," just as "Lord" does; and it is the correlative of the word which, in the early Semitic speech, designates man as a frail, feeble creature. It suggests, therefore, as already familiar in the first ages of the Semitic race, a somewhat profound view of God and man, very different in origin from the idea of God in other families of language. It affords also proof of the assertion that with this Semitic people, in times so far back as to be scarcely calculable, there had become powerful a higher

[1] The Æthiopic.

view of the divine, a view involving consequences of the utmost importance for the succeeding nations of the race, but especially for the Hebrews. And it is remarkable that the word, according to all indications, continued to have this signification "Lord," *i.e.* God, in the plural formation which in other words also made more definitely prominent in the sense of that original language just this idea of "Lord." In later times, however, this signification became gradually weakened and lost by reason of a feeling in relation to language that was wholly changed.[1] But the peculiarity from the first was this, that the word indicated properly God as Lord, since He is indeed the only one who deserves this name unconditionally and in every moment of human life; but in a list of other words which likewise in general had something like the signification of Lord, it was conspicuous in this special meaning, God, and was regarded as no other as sacred.

Moreover, this word was originally the only Semitic word set apart for the idea of God. There was, indeed, in early times another word for God, which we know from the Hebrew and Phœnician, viz. *El;* but it is clearly only an abbreviation of the original term, after it may have been much used, as the Hebrew very distinctly shows.[2] It appears generally as the first or last part of a compound proper name,[3] and the frequency with which it was so used was manifestly the primary cause of the abbreviation. Only rarely and in poetry is it employed without some descriptive word connected closely with it; and in the phrase, "in the power (El) of thy hand," its original signification is remarkably preserved.

§ 229. If now it is asked how, side by side with this word, so clear in its idea from the very first, and so unchanged in its form, as all subsequent history proves; and just in this very nation of Israel, so delicate in its perception of divine ideas, and so loyal too in the main in its devotion; nevertheless, so many other words arose and set themselves almost in rivalry with it, we shall have to think through what and how

[1] *Lehrbuch*, § 178*b*. [2] *Ibid.*, § 146*d*. [3] As Elisheba, Ishmael.

many great temporal changes the true religion must pass till in inner and outer conflict it reaches at length its ultimate consummation. This unique kind of religion which, in the nation of Israel, under Moses and the long series of the great prophets to Christ, experienced so many and such mighty transformations, must have received from that primitive time a firm settlement and foundation, which it never lost again, and upon which, because it was so firm, the series of subsequent changes could be accomplished; and the witness of this is just the unshaken, stedfast continuance of that primitive name for God. But of the greatness and duration of the many conflicts which this religion had to sustain from within and without before it reached its goal, witness likewise the many other names for God, which in the long interval arose, and which in distinction from the simple name for God may be designated proper names. These orginated, as already briefly suggested, from two different causes.

1. It may, perhaps, be thought that had all the members of that primitive Semitic race, in which this simple name for God arose, remained ever afterwards unchanged in their religion, no other name for God would ever have obtained currency in its midst. But as mankind in those early times was more and more widely dispersed, unity in religion was superseded by diversity, because the Oracle, as the original source of it, was no longer the same, but was sought in a hundred different places for smaller or larger communities. Very early that primitive Semitic race must have been divided; and every separate nation of it had soon its special deity, and therefore a special or, what is the same thing, a proper name for it side by side with the old original name, which became now the general name for a possible multiplicity of gods. If then each nation, whether greater or smaller, designated its God by a special or proper name,[1] how should not that nation in which, to be sure, the better religion was preserved and further developed, feel itself compelled to distinguish that

[1] Cf. Micah iv. 5; Deut. iv. 7 f., v. 23.

Deity whom it recognised as the true God by such a special proper name, and affix to it its own more definite idea? Opposition from without rendered such a course necessary. But as the true religion, once finding firm foothold in a nation, by its collision as well with other powerful kinds of religion as with its own still remaining imperfections, passes through conflicts of which a religion less true scarcely knows anything; so may it also, by the victory of the Better and more Perfect hidden in it, experience at each decisive moment such a transformation that its newly-modified condition throws upon the supreme and single object of its thought, *i.e.* upon the thought of God Himself, a wholly new light, and calls forth a new idea of Him, and so a proper name that shall declare most plainly the peculiar characteristic of the true religion in its inner and outer relations as they now exist.

2. So it happened with this religion and this community several times, but always at such intervals as coincide with the stages of the whole development of the true religion to its highest perfection. One new proper name followed another upon each of such stages successively, so long as the first impulse continued, whilst the original common name, entirely unchanged, was retained side by side with the new name. The whole variation of names here in question takes place therefore only in one of these two directions, and is simply a change of proper name.

All proper names of a deity, even more than those of a man, have a certain measure of inflexibility, inasmuch as marking the special individual characteristic in all brevity, they do not, like ordinary substantives, easily and pliantly unite in close combination with another word expressing an independent idea. One can readily say, "my God," or the "God of love," "a gracious God;" but not, or indeed only upon a new accession of strength in discourse,[1] "my Zeus," "the Zeus of love," "a gracious Zeus," although Zeus is originally one and the same with God. On this account

[1] *Lehrbuch*, § 286c.

in Hebrew the original word for God, with its general and flexible idea, could not be lost in the presence of these newly-occurring proper names of God. The same result, however, could be brought about from a somewhat different cause. If the proper name of a definite deity among the nations became necessary because each of them, even the smallest, assembled around some special deity and sought to attach themselves especially to it, was this hostile separation of the nations and their gods to last for ever? Was there no possibility that at least from that nation which owing to its special religion must feel the primary impulse and vocation to offer it, a great turning towards the Better should in this respect be introduced? One of the possibilities of this lay also in the fact that this nation gradually accustomed itself to employ, with increasing frequency, that name of God which expresses nothing but the general relation of God to all humanity, and to employ it where traditional custom would have given the first place to one of the proper names. We shall see how important this becomes.

3. Between these two sharply-opposed usages, viz. on the one hand, the employment of different names in each of the different branches of the Semitic race to mark its distinctive religious peculiarity, or of new names in the nation of the true religion to note its special stage of development; and on the other, the retention for various reasons of the one universal name, side by side with the new names, a place may be found for a third. That is to say, a special type of name might be formed, consisting of names best designated as familiar names, or names of endearment, springing from the glow of devotion and the fervour of wrestling prayer, whether of the individual or the whole community; such as "my God," "my Lord," "our Lord!" As the glow of pure love could never be so powerfully kindled in any ancient nation as in this, nor could anywhere else so persistently continue to burn, we see what high significance such names would at length more and more attain in it.

§ 230. From these general observations coming to detail, nothing in the outset seems more noticeable than that in the five great modifications of the divine name we recognise anew the five stages of the progress of all true religion towards its consummation, and the five great periods of the history of Israel, viz. the Patriarchal, the Mosaic, the Kingly, the Post-exilian, and the Christian. So evident is it that the whole national history of Israel coincides with its religious history, and that while each stage is distinguished by a change in the name for God, yet all along the whole question in decision involves ultimately only the right idea of the true God, and its firm and steady maintenance.

1. In the earliest age known to us with any precision, we can already mark the existence of two names for God in close relation to each other. The Book of Origins shows us sufficiently that the patriarchs, when it seemed necessary to distinguish their God from others then worshipped, no longer regarded him as *Elôhim* simply, but as *El-Shaddâi*. This is a proper name compounded in the early Hebrew fashion with the main word for God, and signifies God Almighty. In the first period it was found only in this compound form, but subsequently and chiefly through the free usage of the poets it was abbreviated to "Almighty"[1] simply. It would appear then that the patriarchs, by means of this compound word, distinguished the God acknowledged by them as the true God, much as the heathen distinguished their chief deity as "Maximus" or "Optimus Maximus"; but in point of fact it was under a different relation and different circumstances that they recognised their God as the true God; as indeed is historically established.[2] The Hebrew name for

[1] Joel i. 15 leads the way with a play on the word; the Book of Job follows; more remote is the poetic passage, Num. xxiv. 4, 16; and also Ezek. i. 24 (with "El," x. 5); Ps. lxviii. 14, xci. 1; Ruth i. 20 f. On the other hand, in Gen. xlix. 25, *El* is to be read for *Eth.*

[2] [Cf. *History*, i. 317–323, where Ewald shows that Abraham knew God as the true God, not simply as being almighty, but as spiritual, invisible, heavenly, the one God of heaven and earth.—Tr.]

God thus reverenced as Almighty, points back indeed to a very distant past, for though its original sense may even to-day be clearly enough ascertained, yet the word *Shaddâi* in its formation and use lies remote from all ordinary Hebrew, and comes into it only as a rare fragment of a language of very primitive times. Moreover, the name perceptibly vanishes from actual life subsequently to the age of Moses, and is preserved only in the traces of early antiquity that remain in a few proper names and alliterative phrases, or is artistically revived in the picturing of the ancient time by some poets of the middle period of Israel's history.[1] But the more surely is there in this very name an indication of an elevated life in the true religion which must have formed the first firm basis of all succeeding development of religion in the community of Israel. The Book of Origins therefore marks with the greatest distinctness the time and occasion in which the true God revealed Himself to the patriarchs under this name.[2]

Almost the same in signification is the name "Most High God,"[3] with whose blessing Melchizedek once greeted Abraham. It might very well happen that in those early times, when errors did not yet oppress men on every side with their whole weight of mischief, pure religion should seek to maintain itself in some limited Canaanitish circle. Nevertheless, we know nothing that is very precise of the finer distinction that unquestionably existed between the religion of Melchizedek and that of Abraham; but the more must we admire the gracious way in which, in this interview, Abraham in adding Jahveh's name in his reply did not deny, but indeed acknowledges this distinction, yet held it

[1] The Book of Job shows this very strongly; but even in Numbers and the Book of Ruth altered times are depicted. As to the rest, the LXX. in the Pentateuch no longer understood the word, and translate it strangely; in the Book of Job, on the contrary, it is sometimes rightly rendered παντοκράτωρ.

[2] Gen. xvii. 1, xxviii. 3, xxxv. 11, xlviii. 3, cf. Ex. vi. 3, are the only passages, excepting Gen. xliii. 14, and the oldest expression of all, xlix. 25, where the word is found in the Book of Genesis.

[3] *El-Eljôn*, four times employed, Gen. xiv. 18–20, 22. LXX. ὁ ὕψιστος.

to be no reason for unfriendliness. And it is as a reminiscence of these primitive times that Hebrew poets used the same name in abbreviated form, "the Most High," to make conspicuous the lofty superiority of the true God over all heathen deities,[1]—as another proper name from these early times, that of the "eternal God,"[2] has been preserved as familiar to the patriarchs. But neither of these names could manifestly gather about it so large and enduring a community as could that of *El-Shaddái*.

2. The splendour of this proper name, the import of which was at first imperishably blended for a long season with that of the true religion, nevertheless wholly faded from all actual present realization as soon as there entered with Moses the transformation, as of the whole nation, so especially of its religion. In this transformation was involved not merely for this, but for all nations without exception, the supreme turning-point of the destiny of all nations, as the higher antiquity could bring it. Moses announced his oracles in the name of Jahveh, and thereby placed this proper name as that of the true God, as spirit and love, in inseparable connection not only with all genuine religion, but also with the whole existence of the community. The reflection of the glory and sanctity of this transfigured religion was afterwards thrown in even stronger rays upon this proper name. Henceforth it was the sole proud badge and magnificent war-cry of Israel, as against the worshippers of other gods,[3] the quickener of inexpressible yearning and devotion in prayer of every form and type; the sacred name

[1] In Ps. xcvii. 9 this sense is clearly expressed. How much in favour this name was from the oldest poets downwards, is evident from Ps. vii. 17, xxi. 7, xlvi. 4, lvii. 2; Num. xxiv. 16, and many other passages. The prophets, on the contrary, never use it, for Isa. xiv. 14 does not come into the reckoning. In the ruins of Phœnician antiquity, the name has not hitherto been rediscovered.

[2] Gen. xxi. 33.

[3] The splendid song of victory, Ex. xv. 1, begins with this name, and with lofty fervour resounds here for the first time (ver. 3) the "Jahveh is His name," so often afterwards repeated. Concerning the origin and primary

in which all the prophets of this community discoursed, which in solemn festive moments shone resplendent upon the brow of the high priest,[1] and which at length every citizen of this nation and member of this community loved to carry with him as part of his own name,[2] and inscribe it on his signet-ring as a memorial.[3] In short, no other proper name of the true God was ultimately so sacred as this, or left behind it after it had vanished from common use such broad and inextinguishable traces of its unique significance and power. Its sound and its meaning appeared, indeed, in the course of a whole millennium after Moses, inseparably and inevitably bound up for ever with the existence of all genuine religion on earth.

The position which this name took in the course of these ten centuries in relation to the name *Elôhim* is thus explained. Historically we know with sufficient certainty that it was in existence before the time of Moses,[4] but nevertheless it was

significance of this name of names, cf. *History*, ii. 155 ff. [Three possible significations are given — (1) "The Existing," *i.e.* the real, abiding, eternal, in opposition to the unreal or non-existing; (2) "The Creator," from the pre-Mosaic usage of the verb; (3) "God of Heaven," as Gen. xix. 24, "fire from Jahveh out of heaven" is equivalent to "from the heavens," cf. Micah v. 7; snow coming ἐκ Διός in Homer, and the Latin *sub Jove*. The first interpretation is favoured, but the literal meaning of the name, it is added, "we may not now be able to give with perfect certainty," . . . "but we will restore its real sound, Jahveh, were it only a sign that out of the grave of ages Hebrew antiquity is now springing up among us endowed with fresh life."] The attempts to derive the name from that of the Egyptian moon-goddess *Ioh*, or from Phœnician, Assyrian, Chinese, or Sanscrit sources, or to relegate it to a primeval age in such quarters, are futile; cf. *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1873, s. 351 ff. No word can be more purely Hebrew than this, although, to be sure, like Shaddâi, it stands, in the Hebrew in which the Old Testament is written, as a solitary survival of an earlier period of the language. That in a part of Israel, the tribe of Levi, the name was much used in early times, is shown in the old songs, where it is shortened into *Jah* in pause; cf. *Lehrbuch*, § 93*c*; *Dichter des A. Bs.* 1*a*, *Bs.* 253. Very late poets prefer *Jah* to *Jahveh*, as B. Isa. xxvi. 4; repeatedly also at the beginning of the second member of the verse, Isa. xxxviii. 11.

[1] *Antiquities*, 297.

[2] *Lehrbuch*, 679 ff.

[3] Some of which, belonging to citizens of the Ten Tribes, have recently been discovered. *Revue archéol.* 1868, part xvi.

[4] Cf. *History*, ii. 157. Jochebed, the mother of Moses, shows in her name a trace of this name of God.

only through him that it acquired its high public significance for the whole community, whilst the ordinary name, God, remained tolerably prevalent still longer in simple speech and in historical writing.[1] But even after it became used more and more frequently, and was upon everybody's tongue, it could by no means be employed as fully equivalent with God, and could never be made use of where the discourse was of God in a general sense. The delicate feeling of this people for what was suitable to the dignity of the true God always preferred the common name Elôhim in certain phrases in which it would appear unseemly to speak of Jahveh.[2] For a long time the best writers in Israel distinguished most precisely and uniformly between these two names, and to use either of them in an inappropriate connection would have been regarded as a literary error.[3] Nay more, at the time when the esteem for this name rose higher and higher, the respect for the common name in single phrases declined far too much, although only transiently.[4] The copious narrators of the primitive history fondly magnify the day when the true God first revealed Himself to the whole nation under the name Jahveh; the Book of Origins in simpler fashion;[5] the Fifth Narrator far more artistically, taking occasion to freshen up anew the meaning of the name which in his time had become obscure.[6] But all this did not prevent many wise men in

[1] Cf. vouchers for this, *History*, i. 66, 94. If the remnants of the oldest historical writing are few, they should on that account be the more carefully considered.

[2] In such phrases as "sons of God," "man of God," "to renounce or curse God," Elôhim is used, the loftier name being rather avoided as unsuitable; to the heathen also, and on the lips of the heathen, there is an indisposition to allow the word Jahveh to be employed: yet the narrator in Jonah i. 9–12 retains this name in such case, but not in iii. 5–10.

[3] This is seen especially from the Book of Origins and the Fourth Narrator of the primitive history; in Job also all the divine names are interchanged with the greatest caution and skill.

[4] For Elôhim might signify angels; and occasionally the magistracy as it was in the time of the Judges. *History*, ii. 412; *Antiquities*, 310.

[5] Ex. vi. 2–8.

[6] Ex. iii. 10–16. The thought must have already occurred that the name Jahveh might signify "He will it be," since הוה "to be" interchanged dialectically with

Israel from beginning at an early period to place the simple name God where for so long a time Jahveh was used, from the right feeling that God could not be rightly conceived as other than the true God,[1] as if the thought would occur that for the only true God even the simplest and most general name would very well be suitable. Yet such innovation could at that time obtain but little favour; we shall see, however, that when the right moment was come it prevailed in a wholly different way.

הִיָה, and a prophet may perhaps by this play upon the word have pointed to Him who "will surely be" the accomplisher of all hope and promise. This explanation, which is very appropriate after the previous promises of God, our prophetic narrator gives as from the mouth of Jahveh Himself, who to the doubting question of Moses replies in ver. 12, "I will be with thee." To the further question of Moses, by what name he should designate to the people the God who makes such promise, the reply is in ver. 14 from the same source, with the greatest emphasis, as if in quick and rapid conversation, "I will be He, I, I will be He," who delivers them! Then, as if this utterance of God could form His name, Moses is commanded to say, in full, "I will be" (He who so spoke of Himself and has made such promise) "has sent me to you:" and now at last in ver. 15, as if the actual name Jahveh were quite intelligible if only the "I" were changed into "He," Moses is called upon to add, "Jahveh, the God of your fathers, has sent me to you." According to the prelude of ver. 12 there require therefore two affirmations, two progressively clear suggestions, the one in ver. 14, the other in ver. 15, in order to explain the verbal import of the great name so that it may be understood in its full significance. It is thus an attempt to freshen up for the people of the time the half-obscured meaning of an archaic name,—an attempt such as occurred in other cases also just in those days when the art of verbal exposition took its rise; cf. *History*, i. 19, iv. 200. Moreover, it cannot be denied that this meaning agrees perfectly with the context, and apart from the special colour of the discourse as it becomes affected by the context, it is what is essential that the clear word *ehye* should explain the less clear but similar word *jahve*. But the LXX. no longer understood the drift and connection of the passage; and as they thought they perceived in the words a note of the Egypto-Greek philosophy familiar to them, they translated them ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὤν; and then the second single אֶהְיֶה likewise ὁ ὤν, which it cannot in any way mean. "I am that I am," appears to give a very profound sense, nevertheless nothing elsewhere in the Bible at all corresponds to it, and the "self-existent one" of the Indian Wisdom as *Svajam-bhû* is not proved by such name to be an original Old Testament thought. But "I am," or should the phrase be taken against the plain import and connection of the words, according to *Lehrbuch*, § 333*b*, s. 820, as "that I am," gives here also no meaning in itself.

[1] The Fifth Narrator of the primitive history is the one who shows this, cf. *History*, i. 112; concerning other authors of the kind, *ibid.* 133*f*, 168. Still Jahveh is the highest name with the Fifth Narrator; and the substitution of one for the other with him often depicts intentionally the advance of the incident to its climax.

3. At the beginning of the third great period of Israel's history, when the monarchy was still in its youth, we find another proper name of the true God held in highest regard, viz. Jahveh of Hosts, or of Armies. Its origin was probably in this wise : once in the hot struggle of Israel with its foes, when victory seemed wavering in the balance, suddenly the forces of the enemy were panic-stricken and routed as though Jahveh Himself with His heavenly hosts had come to the help of His people. This feeling had perhaps often before been awakened among the troops of Israel as they fought, but it must have been from a new and vivid experience of this kind on the battle-field that this new divine name sprang up—some great prophet pronouncing it and the people assenting with applause ; and subsequently on the celebration of victory it would be commemorated and hallowed in immortal song. The particular day of battle that was the birthday of the name we cannot now determine, for of the latter half of the period of the Judges, with its growing anarchy and confusion, we know little that is certain ; but that the day fell in this latter period is plain, partly because there is evidence to show it did not fall in the earlier,[1] and partly because the name is still new when the human kingdom came into existence.[2] Passing over from that age in living freshness into the age of the new monarchy, thrilled so often by war and victory, the name would the more frequently resound in joy and exultation, and become inseparably blended with the whole national life, as a magnificent resuscitation of the

[1] It is wanting as well in Ex. xv. as Judg. v., although rightly it would belong to Judg. v. 20.

[2] This is clear from all evidences, as from Ps. xxiv. 7–10. Nay, this short song of victory itself rings with such a note that it might be regarded as of the period of the Judges, perhaps with Ps. xxix., did not other marks suggest its Davidic origin, as also that of Ps. xxix. That the new name had originally a purely warlike significance is in Ps. xxiv. distinctly evident from this, that it corresponds at the end of the second strophe (9, 10) to the concluding words of the first (8) of similar import repeated from Ex. xv. 3. This cannot be accidental ; not till the second strophe is the truly wonderful new name introduced. For the rest cf. *History*, iii. 62 ; the Qor'an has something similar, Sur. ix. 26, 40.

old name Jahveh, that originating with the community itself and increasing in sanctity more and more was now indispensable to its existence. Born in the midst of war-rejoicings, it had yet a very earnest and elevated aspect as well, not merely indicating that heavenly auxiliaries might reinforce in conflict Israel's struggling ranks, but especially reminding them of the heavenly host itself, infinite, well-marshalled, keeping its eternal order like the stars of heaven, and suggesting to the thought the almighty and, more remotely, the all-controlling power of God Himself. In this sense, long after the heroic period had passed away, the prophets were fond of appealing to the Lord of Hosts, and of sealing their oracles with this grand name as with the mark of highest authority;[1] Isaiah, the royal prophet, pointing back also as occasion served, in words of high Messianic exultation, to its original graphic, warlike import,[2] and at length the great Unnamed, emphasizing more strongly, as the time seemed to demand, its application to the stars of heaven.[3] But always did it remain the loftiest and grandest and, as it were, the royal name of God, and therefore properly marked that brilliant era of Israel's history when the nation was most powerful and famous in the world. It could not, however, become a common name; it was too long for that. Originally it ran, "Jahveh, the God of the hosts of heaven;" it suffered gradually a double abbreviation, and became "Jahveh of Hosts,"[4] but after this it could not

[1] The prophets agree so much in this, that there is no difference among them save in the more frequent or rarer employment of this lofty phrase, Jahveh of Hosts. What is most significant is how few wholly avoid it; and these are Hosea (xii. 5 is from Amos), Micah (iv. 4 is from Joel, cf. *Prophets*, i. 114), and Ezekiel.

[2] Isa. xxxi. 4.

[3] Book of Isaiah xl. 26.

[4] That originally צְבָאוֹת הַשָּׁמַיִם was said may be ascertained from this, that the somewhat later writers named the angelic or starry host צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם, 1 Kings xxii. 19; Deut. iv. 19, xvii. 3; 2 Kings xvii. 16, xxi. 3, 5. As, however, the four words were gradually shortened to two to form a proper name, צְבָאוֹת remained without the article. For the rest the name is quite different from the previous ones, being drawn from the ordinary Hebrew, since צְבָאוֹת in its common human sense constantly denotes "the well-ordered army."

be further abbreviated,[1] and so it remained suitable only to the higher discourse, giving a sonorous rounding to the periods where its special emphasis was appropriate; but in ordinary speech the shorter name Jahveh was used interchangeably with Elôhim, as we have said.

4. Just at the opening of the fourth great historical period there emerged a new short proper name, and as far as its brevity is concerned a very suitable one—viz. "the Holy One" in the sense of the true God. It is as if the earlier names were then no longer properly relevant; a new name would therefore be formed on the threshold of this new era with its lofty aspirations, a name originating with a prophet who sought to express in it briefly the high aims of this beginning of a new age. And no name was more fitting and suitable than this. The idea of "the Holy" expressed the nature of the true God with an ample and striking appropriateness few other single ideas possessed. On all sides it was evident as never before how unholy all the heathen gods were, and that One only is the truly Holy God. The Deuteronomist had shown creatively from a careful historical contemplation and survey how little any heathen god whatever could compare with Jahveh, the God of Israel, as a true Saviour and shield of His people;[2] which is manifestly true when it is considered how firm and unbending, how newly-strengthened and newly-sanctified in the pure light and power of its God Israel had till then found itself after every severe misfortune; still more had the vanity of idol-worship been manifoldly demonstrated; and in every way was it established how certainly only the true God is Holy. But this new name was also the first kindling spark which showed that now the age of the Hagiocracy was beginning in Israel, in a sense, however, which was then altogether unexceptionable.[3]

[1] The Σαβαώθ is omitted in many places of the LXX. in very late books, but not in the New Testament, where the name is quoted from the LXX. (Rom. ix. 29), and sounds (Jas. v. 4) as a free echo of the Old Testament.

[2] In passages such as Deut. iii. 24, iv. 7 ff., 32 ff.

[3] As this is described at the beginning of the fifth vol. of the *History*.

If this new name was not so prevalent as one of the earlier names, the cause lay in the fact that the time was now come when such distinctive names for the true God had generally no longer a fitting significance, because the genuine religion, in the midst of the destruction of its old earthly house, had gradually learned, and still continued to learn, how to maintain itself among all nations. If the recognition of this with the community soon to be deeply oppressed again was for some centuries rather a feeling than a clear perception, there entered, on the other hand, unobserved an innovation which, contrary to all human expectation, might produce such clear perception as its result. Indeed, it is accordant with the whole history of the progress of the knowledge and apprehension of the true religion, that events either remote in their position or apparently quite casual, may yet serve sooner or later powerfully to accelerate that progress which nevertheless already the higher necessity prescribes.

As the whole historical development proceeded, the name Jahveh, as before observed, was blended inseparably with the very existence of the genuine religion and its community founded by Moses. In the course of long centuries it became more and more sacred, and ultimately the most sacred of all. The Deuteronomist first marks it out as the name worthy of the highest honour, nay, even of reverence;[1] but long before him it was so regarded; and pious custom had long felt a timid dread of employing it unworthily or allowing others so to employ it, and had resolved, therefore, no longer to use it in such connections of discourse, or in such places, where it might readily be profaned.[2] The same fear led also to the habit of preferring never to pronounce it anywhere, in order to be quite secure against any possible profanation of it. In the last centuries before the first destruction of Jerusalem many pious souls had suffered very severely from the growing

[1] Deut. xxviii. 58.

[2] Cf. *Antiquities*, 220 ff.; *History*, v. 198 f. It is especially important to trace accurately the beginnings and first introduction of a custom which subsequently became quite general.

scorn and contempt of their God by the heathen, and afterwards no one was any longer safe against it. Many persons would therefore accustom themselves even then not to pronounce the sacred name at all. So strange a habit as that of suppressing altogether a word that one would gladly speak at every moment, obtained prevalency with difficulty among a widely-scattered people; and the first decades of the New Jerusalem were too full of hope even to cherish the thought of such suppression. According to all indications, it was the school of Ezra that from the high esteem it enjoyed was able to establish this prohibition along with so many similar restrictions. It was then enjoined—(1) That nowhere should the name Jahveh be spoken, but where God was spoken of He should be designated in some other way than by this most sacred name: (2) that the word should be allowed to stand, indeed, in Holy Scripture, but the reader should substitute another word for it; and this because of the most important further consequence for Holy Scripture. For it was now asked what in this case is the most suitable word to put in its place? And upon closer view four possible substitutes seemed to present themselves.

Every well-known name of a great personage conveys by its sound and its meaning, even among strangers, a correspondingly high or still higher idea and a vivid image of him; so that it may be said such a name always precedes such a personage, and his whole greatness is thought of by means of it. From the earliest times the name of Jahveh stood in living speech as representative of His universally known greatness, and was more and more frequently used in this sense.[1] If now it were wished for any reason to avoid uttering the word Jahveh, instead of it merely "the name" might be said; and everybody would readily surmise whose name was meant from the perfectly unique nature of the case,

[1] Such passages may be cited as those in which an ancient poet or prophet like Isaiah thus uses the word, Ps. xx. 1; Isa. xxx. 27. With more facility "Thy," "His name," were thus used in prayer or in allusion to prayer and invocation or worship of Jahveh, as Deut. xxviii. 58.

at least in a discourse whose connection was otherwise clear. This is found already in the Book of Origins;[1] but it is evident at once that the meaning would be distinctly apparent from the special phrase itself; and just on this account this word was adapted in some measure to stand generally as the substitute for Jahveh. It was possible also to take another course and to read Elôhim for Jahveh; and this had already been often done, as is evident.[2] But this expedient was with reason not generally adopted in the old writings, because the universal name God had there associated with it, especially in certain passages, quite a different tone and meaning from Jahveh. A third plan was to read instead of Jahveh, Heaven, and in later times in common discourse among the people this was much in favour, as the first three Gospels and as genuinely Jewish writings still later show.[3] In fact, it had in the nation of Israel a precedent in its favour in very ancient intuitions which in the absence of any image or symbol of deity regarded the all-encompassing heaven as the throne of the invisible and infinite God. This term, indeed, was a very favourite one with the people, but it came into Scripture with the Book of Daniel and the Gospels.

Besides other possible substitutes, such as "the Eternal,"[4] there was, fourthly, a word which alone it appeared best to the learned schools to employ in the place of Jahveh, whether in oral discourse or in reading the Holy Scripture, viz. the word Adônâi. This ran originally Adônâinu, *i.e.* our Lord!

[1] Lev. xxiv. 11, "to blaspheme the name;" who would like to say to blaspheme Jahveh? Nevertheless, in the old freedom the full phrase stands immediately after, in ver. 16, but therefore most briefly without the article, simply שֵׁם.

[2] This is further illustrated in the Psalter, cf. *Commentary on Psalms*, i. 7 f.; what is said in the discussion there I still endorse. In a special case, however, where the text is Adonai Jahveh, the Massôra proposes that Elôhim shall be read instead of Jahveh, to avoid the repetition Adonai, Adonai.

[3] Dan. iv. 26; Matt. xxi. 25; Luke xv. 18. Cf. *Die drei ersten Evangelien*, 1. It became customary to denote the true God as the God of heaven before this; and in Rev. xi. 13 the phrase is reproduced from the later books of the Old Testament.

[4] Cf. Baruch iv. 10, 22, 24, 35, v. 2; 3 Macc. vi. 12.

but was early abbreviated on account of very frequent use.[1] As an expression of profound veneration, Adônâinu, in the early period of the monarchy, was used indeed of earthly kings in addresses or vivid discourse;[2] but gradually only of God, and then in the shorter form; at first united with Jahveh, and afterwards by itself. Always, however, was it originally only in the glow of public prayer or otherwise of loyal address to God, never in merely ordinary discourse or in narrative. If the schools prescribe that it shall be used everywhere for Jahveh, certainly it is better suited for such use than any one of the previous three words, because in its signification it directly points to Jahveh; but to the special cast of the discourse it is not suited, since the ancient speech did not employ both words side by side indiscriminately, but with a sense of their difference. Therefore, as a further result, this substitution, altogether misunderstood afterwards, betrayed itself as a mere arbitrary act; and the Hebrew became poorer, not simply by a common word, but by its true and principal characteristic word. In the last issue, however, though without any intention or co-operation on the part of man, it proved of the greatest benefit for the acceptation and diffusion of the true religion. For Adônâi was from the first no proper name; and moreover, in the widest use of it, it could scarcely be translated "our Lord," but only generally "Lord," or "the Lord," as already the Hellenistic[3] Bible, and the New Testament which follows it, show. The idea of "the Lord" is not only in itself as clear as possible, but it manifestly approximates to that of God, is indeed

[1] The י— of אֲדֹנָי points to a pronoun. The original Adônâinu is found in Ps. viii. 1, 9, and repeated Ps. cxxxv. 5, cxlvii. 5; Neh. viii. 10, x. 29. Since Ps. xc., where אֲדֹנֵינוּ is found, is a prayer for the community, like Ps. viii., we see how Adônâi stands for Adônâinu; moreover, this would make the distinction clear between אֲדֹנַי, "my Lords;" אֲדֹנִי, "my Lord;" and אֲדֹנָי as applied to the supreme Lord.

[2] According to 1 Sam. xxv. 14, 17; 1 Kings i. 11, 43, 47; but the phrase is found now only in these passages, and these have come from one of the oldest narrators.

[3] The Hellenistic Bible has its special conception, and is very different from

essentially coincident with it, only that it gives greater prominence to the true God, which in certain connections of discourse may be very appropriate.

Thus in the Hellenistic age this whole development, having secured abiding fruits, returns almost to its beginning, and the God of this community, now designated simply "God," or where emphasis was necessary, "God the Lord," or more briefly "Lord," might with the greater facility become the God of all nations without distinction. But in fact much, nay, the best that was required, was still wanting to secure the realization of this possibility. For the Hellenistic Bible, although willingly tolerated so long as no great apparent disadvantage was caused by it, had no acknowledged and commanding authority; it was the law of the great schools in Jerusalem that was dominant. According to this, there were still, as in all the great periods previously, two divine names, different in character, existing side by side, one of them to be regarded as inexpressible and secret, the other only to be employed. A singular state of things surely with respect to the supreme Name; similar, no doubt, to much that found place in the heathen religions,[1] but not therefore better. For, strictly considered, the name now hidden away in oblivion was not merely that which had once been hallowed, it was the grandest name of which this community could boast. Remaining thus hidden away, because the scorn and arrogance of the heathen were so deeply dreaded, and too great a risk would be involved in the open disclosure before the world of a national treasure so unique and sacred, all that was noblest and most profound in the power the true religion was appointed to wield openly amongst mankind remained

the rest of the Greek translations. It is better to speak of it by this phrase, for the name LXX., though not incorrect, is less appropriate. The history of the gradual introduction of Elôhim and Adônâi into the literature of the Old Testament can be traced by sure indications, as I have in many places showed. A phrase like ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν would, however, if continually repeated, be far too heavy in Greek.

1 *Nomina ineffabilia:* faith in such names is always of late origin, and indicates, as here, a transition to a wholly different period and form of belief.

hidden with it, and, indeed, as by a dark destiny, crippled and paralysed.[1] The Hellenistic Bible, on its part, concealed this duality in the divine names only artificially; and since the name that was most sacred could not, though forcibly suppressed and silenced, be entirely forgotten, at least by those who had its four letters before their eyes in the Hebrew Bible,[2] many grave superstitions about it would naturally arise, and even attempts be made by means of it to beguile the ignorant as with a spell or charm.[3]

5. Only Christianity could bring the true end of this whole long development. As introduced by Christ Himself into the world, from the very beginning it rejected all such perverse wisdom of the schools; and soon it attached itself to the Hellenistic Bible alone. In Christianity, as the whole New Testament shows, the true God has no special proper name whereby He must first distinguish Himself from other gods, neither does He need it, or indeed any change or exaltation of the kind; while yet the latest books of the old community still bring forward artificially new divine names.[4] But the distinctive names of God, to which Israel had successively clung with such intense fervour, and which had expressed the central thought of the periods in which

[1] ["This God of the ancient community was in reality retiring further and further from them into a mysterious distance; . . . while they were restrained from calling upon Him by His true name, they were really losing Him more and more. . . . The name of the people changes with each three great stages of its history;—Hebrews, Israel, Judeans;—each name is a symbol of the era to which it belongs, so is it of the name of God. Nothing is more significant than that the simple but sublime name *Jahveh* should be succeeded by the splendid name *Jahveh of Hosts*, . . . and this again finally by—a blank." *History*, v. 199.]

[2] There was a preference long existing for writing the *Tetragrammaton* in the Hebrew characters even in Greek and Syriac Bibles; what is signified, and how it should be pronounced, was the subject of curious and subtle inquiry, and all kinds of errors were fallen into; cf. Ceriani's *Monum. sacra et prof.* ii. pp. 106–112. What interpretations of it were early favoured in the schools, derived from Ex. iii. 10–16, may be seen from Rev. i. 4; cf. *Die Johan. Schriften*, ii. p. 108 f.; but from Plutarch's *Isis and Osiris*, ix., one sees how early the heathen also make their deity say, ἐγώ εἰμι πᾶν τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ ὂν καὶ ἐσόμενον.

[3] As with *ôm*, the initial word of all Brahminical sacred formularies.

[4] As the "God of Spirits" in the Book of Enoch, 311; the "God of Strength" in 2 Baruch, as if the oldest Shaddai were being reintroduced.

they arose;—Almighty God; Jahveh, the eternal refuge of His people; Jahveh, the Lord of all celestial powers;—have not therefore lost their significance with Christianity. Rather do we now apprehend them all in their true and proper sense, and resuscitate in its genuine form and pronunciation, Jahveh, that for over two thousand years has been withdrawn from the world and buried in oblivion.[1] Still all of them[2] are but the immortal adornments of a name which is at once supreme, all-comprehending, and most simple as well.

Moreover, this simple name marks the inner harmony and firm coherence of the true religion, as it moves along from the remotest primitive age through all its changes to its highest consummation. No violent break has ever occurred in the threads of its continuity, so that the idea and name of God have never been compelled to seek to shape themselves wholly anew;[3] in the fundamental truth that cleaves to this word as to no other, even ages the most civilised and deeds the most daring have but produced a higher and yet higher development, till the goal has been attained at which we may now for ever rest.

VIII. CHAOS AND THE UNIVERSE.

§ 240. The old sages formed in the mind an imaginary system of things, to show how the visible universe in all its parts might best be considered to have arisen. They attempted to reproduce the proper succession of those parts; but whence the original material itself came remained to

[1] The name Jehovah that sprang up from a misunderstanding of the last three hundred years, is manifestly now giving place to the genuine name, and has been for forty years or more.

[2] [In § 196 Ewald says: "Israel is Jahveh's first-born son; so speak the prophets, and in the glow of prayer pious and depressed souls look up to God as 'Father;' the Book of Wisdom also and Ecclesiasticus speak of God as 'Father' and His people as 'children;' but Christ, first in all spiritual simplicity and fervour, makes this term and relationship familiar by His word and His whole teaching and life."]

[3] As in the Æthiopic.

them an unsolved problem. Apparently there hovered before their minds a pictured representation of the origin of all life and being visible to us upon earth. As each individual existence is developed out of what seems but unorganized, inert, motionless, and so far raw material, and becomes by a gradual process what we delight to behold and to admire, in like manner, they thought, has the universe been developed. And as into such rigid and crude substance, which appears to be nothing but matter, only gradually do life and movement come; so, thought they, has all that which we call more or less perfect and divine only gradually come into bare original matter. To be sure, if the origin of the immeasurable and mighty universe should be conceived in this way, and compared with the origin of ever-limited, feeble, individual life, much must be added. We must think of correspondingly huge first efforts and movements, rendering it possible that out of such vast, inert, crude matter the universe should issue forth. But they held still to the fundamental assumption. The most obviously suitable image by which to represent all this somewhat clearly to the mind was customarily that of the egg.[1] It may be said, therefore, that this substance, pure, crude, rigid, comprising everything in itself excepting life and free organized movement, or this huge blind mass of that which is called visible matter (*materia*), and might just as well be called original matter, is nothing but the residue of all parts of the present universe not further to be explained, and so made to stand as the mere material and substance out of which alone the universe as it is can have been formed.

[1] What a wide distance opens between the calmly earnest way in which Chaos is described in the *Institutes of Manu*, i. 5 ff., and the half-frivolous sportive manner of Aristophanes in the *Birds*, 691 ff.; cf. the *Thesmophoriazusæ*, 14 ff.; or that of Euripides in the fragment of *Melanippe;* or even that of Ovid at the outset of his *Metamorphoses*, when with forced gravity, starting afresh, and with the manifest influence of the Alexandrian translation of the Pentateuch he describes Chaos and the whole creation! But the narrative in Manu is not the oldest; it has its peculiar colour from the hypothesis that several creations have succeeded each other, and the last arises as a new house is built after the demolition and burning of earlier houses.

But just on this account the universe, which according to its name and idea is the now existing universe, well ordered in its parts, movements, and aims, was definitely distinguished from that dark primitive substance which was called unordered matter, or in Greek, Chaos. But this must be thought of as something vast and immense; and such characteristic it has essentially retained in the old Hebrew term *Tóhu-va-Bóhu*, which by the resonance of its vowel sounds, and by its alliteration, in a very appropriate and graphic way describes what is boundless or vast and unordered; and this also is found with greater simplicity in the short Greek name Chaos, which is akin to the Hebrew term in its derivation.[1] As it is nevertheless difficult for the imagination to conceive with any distinctness such a formless mass, the language of the oldest nations endeavoured to designate it in another way, and so meet the desire for a more definite conception of it. All the special but still enormous material that may be called original material, and that appears in the existing universe in an ordered form, must be thought of as already present in that ultimate original material, and as weltering in wild and crude confusion. That the lighter or liquid element might be conceived as swimming on the surface, was derived from the idea of the egg; but this surface was imagined as ten times

[1] In תְּהֹה, the root of the first word, only the initial sound alternates with that of the root of the second, בְּהֹה; but in the case of χάω, χάζω, χαίνω, a third sound interchanges with the first and second. All these related roots, to which *hiare* and the German *gähnen* correspond, express only a wide sprawling, staring, and yawning, and therefore the contrary of that which is united together, arranged, falling into order and rank. If now in Hebrew תֹּהוּ and בֹּהוּ are placed as closely as possible together, it is evident that thus the same idea is represented in its highest degree, as if it were said in Greek χάος καὶ χάσμα; the LXX., however, prefer to take χάος rather in the signification of "gulf," "abyss," like גַּיְא, which to be sure is akin to it, Micah i. 6; Zech. xiv. 4: and so all old Greek translations of Gen. i. 2 avail themselves of circumlocutions which allow nothing of the old Chaos to peer through, as it has been retained in Hesiod's *Theog.* 116. In Hebrew, however, the old הוּה, "desire," from the wide opening of the mouth, is akin to it.

more dreadful than the great ocean, with its fathomless depths and wild storms, of which the ancients spoke;[1] so that Chaos was well designated the dark, yawning, monstrous depths,[2] just as many things are designated according to the appearance of the surface they present to us. And if such is the surface, what must the rest be! This then was the original formless mass of which the mind of man could think only with horror. But the idea of this formless mass, and some standing name for it, may be found in the language and in the thought of all the most ancient nations; and even amongst the most cultured of the people of the later antiquity known to us it remained so firmly fixed until the latest times, that the best and greatest of the Greek philosophers never got beyond it.

In so far it cannot be surprising, then, that among the people of Israel this idea, coming down from a remote antiquity, was retained as one long steadily accepted; and that it shows itself as well in the language of the traditions regarded as sacred after the time of Moses, as in the whole series of ancient sacred traditions. But it cannot be denied that, strictly taken, in the series of the fundamental truths of the religion revealed by Moses, this idea has no suitable and proper place. For if the beginning of all things were something so extremely dark, formless, crude, and waste as Chaos, what does this amount to? Had such really been the case, how could the universe have been formed at all? That out of a purely dark and confused mass a better order could ever

[1] ["Where eldest Night
And Chaos, ancestors of Nature, hold
Eternal anarchy. . . . .
. . . . . .
The rising world of waters, dark and deep,
Won from the void and formless infinite."—MILTON.]

[2] תְּהוֹם, Gen. i. 2, a word corresponding to the Arabic for "lowland," but in Hebrew signifying rather "the abyss of waters," ἄβυσσος (βυθός), or ocean; as, however, in Gen. i. 2 it signifies what is equivalent to Chaos itself, so the old Babylonish name for Chaos corresponds to it, Ὁμόρκα; cf. Richter's *Berosus*, p. 50.

arise, is contrary to all that experience teaches. But that afterwards only some God appears, as if casually, who out of what is in itself a disordered mass creates order, is not less a perverse thought, because the true God who is the God of order[1]—if with Moses we distinctly suppose such a God —cannot have been simply added afterwards, and as it were by accident. The true God is indeed the eternal God, the Creator of the universe. In its infinite duration, His work may, in accordance with His will and law, become more and more spiritual, and be more and more perfected in its finer elements, but its beginning cannot be thought of as something merely formless and waste. Even those types of individual existence from which the whole representation of Chaos is derived, are not, as we consider them more closely, fitting and suitable illustrations. For individual life, which is possible only through the subsistence and firm foundations of the whole great universe, has from the first another determination and another nature than the universe by which alone it is conditioned. How then can it be a symbol and illustration of the origin of the whole great universe itself? There is resemblance only in the circumstance that even in the individual life the order of the whole universe, and so at the same time that of God Himself, must be dominant; whilst in such life there may be something new, something not yet found in the universe, co-ordinately conditioning it. Moreover, it is only apparently not really that such life is developed out of what is wholly formless and waste.

§ 241. Thus, then, Chaos belongs to those ideas which, coming into the nation of Israel from a remote antiquity, extend even into the times of its regeneration through the true religion under Moses; but not being strictly considered

[1] The great apostle in every suitable place makes very prominent the idea of "the God of love and peace," or more briefly, "of peace,"—2 Thess. iii. 16; 1 Thess. v. 23; 1 Cor. xiv. 33 f.; 2 Cor. xiii. 11; Rom. xv. 33 xvi. 20; Phil. iv. 9; repeated Heb. xiii. 20; but without order peace is impossible.

reconcilable with this religion, lose their original significance at a very early period, and are gradually more and more superseded by other ideas.

1. For, first of all, it is certain that in the Hebrew language, as it is presented to us in the Old Testament, the expressions themselves which contain the idea of Chaos are regarded only as archaic, whilst they vanish altogether from ordinary discourse, and reappear but in fragmentary survivals of reminiscences of old and sacred tradition, or in isolated and occasional passages in the poets. The two most important words which contain this idea occur only at the very beginning of the oldest history of creation, which indeed has preserved them;[1] and this history, after it had become incorporated in a writing very early regarded as sacred, remained the only document from which by later writers these words, newly vivified, were brought back in the higher poetic and prophetic utterances.[2] . . . Indeed, an old sacred representation saved from the primitive age of a people only very gradually disappears from all the thoughts and all the stratifications of thought in a nation. Thus among the people of Israel who reflected deeply and with new zeal upon the origin of things which no human eye beheld, and which, nevertheless, with the mind's eye they struggled to realize in all vividness, this fragment of primitive tradition held its ground still longer, and was transformed to an ever more distinct picture, of which indeed the remains of the second history of creation afford us a clear example.[3] But already

[1] As an independent idea, and moreover in an old writing *Tóhu-va-Bóhu* occurs in the whole Bible only in Gen. i. 2. It is manifestly cited from this passage in the picturing of Jer. iv. 23, and then again in a somewhat later prophet and with freer handling in B. Isa. xxxiv. 11. As a special word בֹּהוּ does not again occur; but תֹּהוּ standing alone is often used partly in the sense of "empty" and "void," derived from the idea of waste and desolate, partly also only in the higher discourse, as Isa. xxix. 21; Job vi. 18, xii. 24, xxvi. 7; Deut. xxxii. 10, and yet more frequently later. Similarly also תְּהוֹם remained in Hebrew as a word surrounded by world-old memories. Cf. *Lehrbuch*, § 277*c*.

[2] It must not be overlooked that Jeremiah used the present Pentateuch as already the sacred book.

[3] He who understands the words in Gen. ii. 5 f. will see that they are taken

the new freedom with which the old tradition is treated must have helped gradually to dissolve the more ancient conception. But to such old sacred pictured representations, which at least originally were connected with the idea of Chaos, the poets clung longest and most tenaciously, and many of the latest of them were fond of reintroducing the old highly-coloured descriptions of Chaos into their compositions.[1]

2. But the first impulse to the withdrawal of this terrible image of Chaos was given by the right conception of the true God and its more and more perfect application to this end, as such conception was known in the community after the time of Moses. The direct relation of the whole universe to the true God from His very nature must be this,—that the universe is the visible manifestation of His working and of His will; that it is created only by Him, and so becomes such a manifestation. Is He then already existent before it with His whole power and glory, and His whole will, and alone from the first all in all? what significance in that case can Chaos have?

In the oldest history of creation, which has felt the influence of the enlightened and all-enlightening spirit of the true religion, and now has the foremost place in the Bible, is shown the most memorable transmutation of the whole view of Chaos. Chaos appears indeed in the very outset of this narrative only in order to connect the account of the origin of this existing universe somewhere, as to a firm, clear beginning; but it is without any other significance; and it is only very briefly mentioned, much as in common narratives a beginning is made with some definite time and situation of

from a history of creation in which Chaos was described at large in new fashion as to its development, and in which a kind of history of Chaos was sketched. Towards the end of its development, accordingly, the aqueous portion of it is all astir, and mounts up in dense vapours which cover the whole firm land in order to prepare it for fruitfulness, whilst the present much higher canopy of vapour, the heaven with its clouds and rain, was not yet formed. This is a kind of ancient speculation as to the way in which, from the original material, water and earth, lying in Chaos, the existing universe could arise.

[1] As 4 Ezra vi. 1–6; yet here in imitation of the words in Prov. viii. 22–31.

things.[1] But the true God does not arise up out of it, still less does He come to it by chance. He is already before it, and already active with His whole Spirit. The true God and His eternally efficient Spirit; this is already the All; and this All is already there both during and before Chaos! It may perhaps be asked, how this purely spiritual activity of God that preceded the whole visible creation is to be more particularly conceived, and what man could know of it. But to raise such questions, or indeed to answer them, this was not the place, where nothing but the beginning and the creation of the world, and therefore the beginning of all that we call history, was to be narrated. The peculiar elevated brevity of this oldest history of creation, of which more is to be said below, also demanded such sharp and definite restriction to what in this account is absolutely necessary. Moreover, Chaos is here only a secondary matter, only a point of connection for the narrative, and a period of time with which a beginning is made, as indeed the plan of the narrative attests.[2] Over term of time and point of connection stands already as self-evident the whole true God, with the primordial, everlasting, moving and working of His Spirit.

This whole history of creation, which is the oldest the Bible contains, received its present setting in the eleventh century before Christ, and represents accordingly the purest thought and spirit of the old true religion. But to the whole power of the intellectual investigation of things as from that time it arose with new energy into active exercise, the conception of Chaos now stood free for a more plastic and profound insight; and it is wonderful to see how soon it was wholly trans-

[1] Gen. i. 2.

[2] According to the proper connection of all the words, Gen. i. 1–3, the whole picturing of Chaos is given as a merely interposed note of time, which should depict the situation of things more exactly in which the subsequent history of the work of God falls. The words are best translated, "In the beginning when God created the heaven and the earth" (*i.e.* the present universe, which only is actually the universe), "and whilst the earth was a chaos, . . . then God said." That the LXX. make the first verse a sentence by itself, and later readers, translators, and imitators (John i. 1) followed them in this, proves nothing against the original sense of the passage.

formed, as if it were about to fall to pieces more and more and be lost. We see this in the second history, of which a great portion has been preserved bound up as closely as possible with the first.[1] We see it also in the ample and varied multitude of pictured representations of creation which the great poets of the following centuries produced, and above all in the Book of Job. An unusually rich cluster of thoughts and images, in which the active power of the imagination strove to represent vividly the events and periods of creation, had been gathered together at that time in the higher circle of traditions current in the nation of Israel, partly from the treasures of their own antiquity as a nation, partly from importations from without; and the great poets and even prophets used them with great freedom just as might suit the special aim of their discourse. But what is most remarkable is, that while they employ many grand images which once stood in close connection with the ideas of Chaos, nowhere do they any longer mention dismal Chaos itself, not even where they sketch imposing pictures in long and copious detail as in the greater descriptive passages.[2] They paint the surging floods that once poured into mysterious depths; they speak of lofty mountains upreared on high, with their deep foundations rooted in the earth; they describe how the circle of heaven was outspread with all its wonders; but nowhere is a word said of Chaos. Nay, the poet of the Book of Job, with that rare logical consistency and courage which distinguish him as poet and thinker, and make his poem the greatest of all Biblical productions, goes a decisive step

[1] From what has been already said, p. 106, and from what follows, § 249 below.

[2] Passages in Job xxvi. 7–13, xxxviii. 4–38, specially belong to this class; then those previously mentioned in Prov. viii. 22–31; 4 Ezra vi. 1–6, and similar descriptions in Ecclus. xxiv. 5 ff., xliii. 12 f.; but also many references in Job and elsewhere to widely-diffused traditions of creation of a very foreign character, of which we spoke in § 219, p. 70. Most copiously and with intentional multiplication of detail, everything relevant here is fully brought before us as in clear distinct survey in Job xxxviii. 4 ff.; but nowhere is a word said of old Chaos itself, since as we shall see new conceptions intruded which, strictly considered, displaced Chaos.

further. For, whilst sketching the thought and image of God's hanging the earth over Nothing,[1]—making the mighty ball in its weight and thickness and breadth, of which ancient sages could dream, swing without sinking or perishing over empty space that surrounded it above and below,—he fully abolished the old idea of Chaos, according to which the earth from the first formed the chief essential part of the whole Chaos, and by no means even in the present universe hangs free and self-dependent. Nay more, it may be said, this is the first passage which indicates how even the apparent "Nothing" can have its high significance in the whole structure of the universe, and that which at first glance seems simply fixed and motionless can hang free in the midst of it. For this is as much as to say that in the universe invisible forces hold sway and condition and sustain everything, and can proceed only from God Himself, inasmuch as they condition and sustain the visible universe in all its parts without exception.

3. All the more readily could now at length the ultimate basis of the heathen conception of Chaos be destroyed. This was accomplished when the word and thought "God spake . . . and it was so," applied in the oldest history of creation only to the separate parts of the existing universe, became applied at once to the whole. In fact, the most direct and general opposition of the whole universe, as of the created All, and God as the Creator, gradually became more and more prevalent without any regard to a Chaos. Prophet and Psalmist show this in language whose simplicity and form clearly reveal how powerful had been the influence of the spirit of all true religion which predominates in the oldest history of creation.[2] When in the later times merely learned

[1] Job xxvi. 7, where, according to *Lehrbuch*, 270*a*, the word בְּלִימָה, formed by a bold innovation, appears first for Nothing, as in the verse it suddenly arises alternating with the old תֹּהוּ, which the Book of Job loves to use. Nothing above and below; the earth hanging between; such is the meaning of the description in each member of the verse.

[2] B. Isa. xlviii. 13; Ps. xxxiii. 9.

and philosophical language prevailed, emphatic reference is made no doubt to the formless mass out of which God's almighty hand shaped the universe.[1] But such phraseology, a reminiscence of the few words at the beginning of the Book of Genesis, is found only in the Hellenistic Books of Wisdom, not in the New Testament, and it has no higher significance.

But in the cases mentioned, if only upon the omnipotence of God, necessarily from the beginning forming and constituting everything without exception, the view of the creation of the universe is firmly based; and if, as in illustration of God's omnipotence, Chaos comes forth conspicuously only that by the idea of wide and general disorder the idea of the universe as the great and glorious divine order may the more distinctly and luminously appear, there is yet another aspect of the opposition between the universe and God which is especially striking and impressive. It is the opposition of the Visible and the Invisible. The universe is the All of the Visible; but it presupposes a something spiritual corresponding to it, *i.e.* an Invisible without which it could not exist at all. Since, therefore, this is to be thought of prior to the Visible, it is not said, God created everything Visible out of the Visible, as might be supposed, nor, indeed, as it might be added, out of Chaos, but out of the Invisible.[2] Yet this, it is true, is a kind of contemplation which is somewhat refined and remote, and calls forth many new questions; and it is found only in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and reminds us of the language of the learned.

But the sharpest, simplest, and yet not incorrect way of expressing in brief the proper view of creation which ultimately obtained was the sentence,—"the existent," *i.e.* everything visible and belonging to the outward universe, "was created by God out of the non-existent," or, as it was said

[1] ἄμορφος ὕλη, Wisd. xi. 17, cf. xv. 13; 4 Macc. i. 29; elsewhere, however, this ὕλη, *materia*, of the philosophers is nowhere found in the Greek Bible.

[2] Heb. xi. 3, where the sense of the rare phraseology μὴ ἐκ φαινομένων, according to the better reading, is more definitely indicated above.

subsequently in the common speech, "out of Nothing."[1] This way of representing creation is essentially involved in the words just quoted, "God spake . . . and it was so;" as if that which God creates were not, but in the same moment that He wills it to be, it is;[2] somewhat as with men who, to be sure, can only create thoughts, the thought which was not suddenly is. But this sentence has one great excellence; in its simple brevity expressing everything, it completely shuts out Chaos, and so the entire truth comes fully into view upon which everything here turns. There is now absolutely nothing visible which exists or which once existed any longer conceivable that does not come into being by the will of God, and that could have any being without that will. All that is dark and dismal, whether Chaos or any other material phenomenon, is at once set aside. The whole universe in all its parts is thus entirely from Him, and remains in Him so long as His will that created it upholds it; and if with the whole universe every creature is only from Him, and without Him is the same Nothing that it is apart from His creative and sustaining will, how can anything whatever boast against Him as if without Him it were anything at all![3] But if, whether in works of mind or hand or in deeds of life, man can create something new only out of that which is already given; and something not merely new but also enduring only out of what is already stedfast and true; so that the proverb holds good in his case, "out of Nothing Nothing comes;" it is not thus in relation to Him who creates everything what He is not immediately Himself, and who

[1] ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, 2 Macc. vii. 28, quite Hellenistic; where, indeed, in some manuscripts the reading οὐκ ἐξ ὄντων is found without any difference of sense. The wholly brief "out of Nothing" is not found in the Bible; but the truth lying in it is alluded to in 1 Cor. i. 28.

[2] Where, as in B. Isa. xlviii. 13, Rom. iv. 17, "a calling" of the Creator is spoken of, the thought manifestly goes back to Gen. i.; and very graphic are the words in Rom. iv. 17, "God calls that which is not as though it were," as if in the same moment it came into being. How it could be expressed in good Hebrew fashion, is evident from Rev. iv. 11, according to the better reading.

[3] As the Bible so often indicates.

with His spirit may appear to men Nothing whilst He is All.

Chaos, however, always retains for this reason the meaning and significance which the mere conception of it calls vividly to mind. It suggests what the universe, according to the divine will, should *not* be, since God wills the direct contrary of it, and in the fitting place is also praised as the God of order.[1] For the rest, this idea affords only a remarkable example how a once prevailing conception [2] can in the course of the progress of the true religion, without being absolutely rejected, gradually fade and die in the presence of mightier truths. It may still be found, but only as a thought that may be of service to point and illustrate discourse that has other and nobler aims.

IX. THE NARRATIVES OF CREATION, AND THE DIVINE CREATIVE POWERS.

§ 245. The narratives of creation preserved in Scripture immortalize in brief and concise form the results of the highest and wisest conceptions of remote antiquity on this subject. Their value to us lies in the view they present of the relation of the universe as a whole to God, and especially of its origin and development by means of divine power and wisdom All that is relevant to this question, in harmony with the true religion, may be set forth step by step in such observations as the following:—

1. Recognising vividly that God is the mighty ruler over all things, and also that many portions of the universe have their peculiar nature and mutual relations, the mind of man may

[1] This is indicated still more definitely than in the expression on p. 104, by the words, 1 Cor. xiv. 33 f.; cf. ἀκαταστασία, 2 Cor. vi. 5, xii. 20.—As to all the nonsense that in our day is so often and so variously deduced from the words of Gen. i. 2, no further observations need be made.

[2] It may be said prevalent as a dogma. Chaos and the plurality of gods were more and more genuine heathen dogmas.

form an idea of the manner in which God as the author of things gave them their essential characteristic and special determination, and in what order He made them. Thus He who is incomparably more than a human designer and artificer is conceived as the Creator of the infinite objects of the universe; and if the narratives of the succession of events in creation are called histories, they are histories of events which no human eye saw, and which nevertheless may just as certainly and truly have happened as if they had been witnessed by man. In inquiries as to the origin of things which lie beyond all historical experience, what is already known is traced further and further back, and ideas thus arise as to that origin which are not necessarily perverse, but based on ascertained knowledge. In relation to the origin of human speech, or of the art of poetry, the same procedure is adopted, and so also with respect to the existing configuration of the earth's surface, which at first sight appears to have always been what it is, and of whose formation all human history is silent. The conjectures of ancient sages in their histories of creation are but the first bold beginnings of this kind yet of the highest and most comprehensive contents. They are attempts to trace and apprehend from above downwards, from the supreme and ultimate in thought, from God Himself, the origin of things in the universe and their interconnection; and they are attempts possible only as the mind is uplifted by a mighty impulse to God and to the full conception of His power and glory. To apprehend the divine determination of all visible things, to form a clear and distinct idea of it and follow its course from the first conceivable beginning onwards, is indeed possible; but the more perfect the God is who is acknowledged as God, and the more deeply the religion associated with such recognition impels the mind to seek everywhere the truly divine, the truer will be the thought of creation that will arise. If therefore histories of creation sprang up in the religions of all ancient nations, and had their fascination and charm, among no nation was it likely that they would take

so exalted and worthy a form as in the nation of the true religion. And so in fact it was. The Biblical narratives, different as they are in many respects from one another, are all of them equally admirable and characterized by a unique and incomparable grandeur.

2. It would not be altogether out of place to compare the more copious and graphic accounts of creation to the visions of the prophets of Israel. Such vivid picturings require not a little of the genuine prophetic spirit that intuitively realizes the whole majesty and glory of God, and well might the greatest prophets have first sketched them. No doubt much of early investigation and primitive knowledge of purely earthly and in so far historical things is not merely interwoven in these narratives, but even constitutes their firm foundation. Nevertheless they have great affinity with the visions of the prophets of the work of God as Judge at the end of all things; and the similarity extends far enough. To the beginnings of all visible things correspond their last issues at the conceivable termination of the present world;[1] and the Judge who decides how far everything has fulfilled its destiny answers to the Creator who appointed that destiny at first; and in the true religion the same true God is both Creator and Judge. Nay more, according to the main conceptions of all true religion, creation and judgment are only the complement of each other; for in the one omnipotence is conspicuous, in the other righteousness, but in each both are manifest; and these being the two essential attributes of the true God, in which also His true unity is found, they blend in perfect harmony in the supreme development of things historically conceivable. Moreover, the inspired glance but sketches in the one case a history of the work of God in the remotest Past, in the other in the remotest Future; and we shall observe presently how far all this extends.

3. At once, however, we advance a step further in this

[1] In a somewhat crude way the *Institutes of Manu* show this, the first book opening with creation, the twelfth or last dealing with the end of the world.

discussion. If every portion of the present world proceeds from a creative thought of God, who appoints to it its destiny, and returns at last in judgment upon it; and if the present world is resolvable into a successive series of historical changes and developments called *αἰῶνες*, there is no impossibility in the supposition that God's entire thought and plan of creation contemplated the whole in its unity, and that with the existing state of things the consummation has not yet been reached. In this sense we may speak of a plurality of worlds, as we fix the eye upon the future; and we shall see below how far this possibility is actually realized.

§ 246. But however boldly and strikingly the divinely-purged vision rises in contemplation of the first conceivable beginning of beings in order to picture the true God as Creator, and the gradual formation of the existing universe, just as certain is it that such glance depicts the more purely and sublimely the work of God as Creator, the more it can clearly express the creative thought of God with respect to every great portion of the universe. It is, indeed, impossible to portray the origin of the universe under the mighty hand of God as one would depict the gradual formation of some work of man's invention and skill; impossible in this sense to describe how God made the universe. For the material is already given for all that man invents and forms; and even in that which is a purely mental creation, as language, poetry, science, art, a higher necessity which lies in the nature of things holds sway apart from and prior to his creative activity. He can neither bring the material into existence nor animate a single life. His creations are but copies or transformations dealing with materials already given, and obeying laws already prescribed. The true religion marks from the first this radical distinction between divine and human works, and no language has characterized so early and so definitely the speciality of divine creation as the Hebrew.[1]

[1] Cf. *Lehrbuch*, § 126*a*. [Where Ewald says that the intensive form of the Hebrew verb בָּרָא means fashioning by a slow laborious process, as in human

Moreover, when a second narrator, in the palmy days of ancient Israel, speaking from the profoundest spirit of its true religion, depicts the creative procedure of God in the first beginning of the world, and depicts it with a freedom so bold and graphic that only the true religion can admit,[1] instead of the old word for "creating" there enter, it is true, rather the ideas of fashioning,[2] and of planting,[3] and the like. But, strictly considered, his subject is the appearance of the infinite variety of individual life, which is carefully to be distinguished from creation properly so called. The origin of the materials out of which this variety might be conceived as produced is not in this case in question. So the position remains, that with respect to these separate parts of the world, as also the entire universe, the Bible aims to indicate only the creative thoughts of God, and the divine destiny assigned from the first to every created thing.

But here is added a special feature which gradually appears in the Bible in the high significance that unquestionably belongs to it. For as every distinct creation, and indeed the whole universe everywhere, bears the imprint and traces, or, in one word, the image of the Creator in His immeasurable majesty and glory, so that it may be said that in each creation of the least as of the greatest things, the will as well as the power and glory of God as Creator is expressed; nevertheless the aspects of the entire Being and whole activity of God, which are conspicuous in creation, are not

work; but the simple form indicates the simplest and easiest creating, that is, the divine.]

[1] Gen. ii. 5–iii. 24, forming the great fragment of the second narrative of creation.

[2] As Gen. ii. 7, 8, 19. Amos uses יָצַר, "to fashion," interchangeably with בָּרָא (iv. 13), but makes it point to less delicate creative power. Isaiah uses it with essentially the same meaning (xxii. 11); succeeding poets and prophets prefer to employ it as a newer word. Ps. xciv. 9 (20), xcv. 5, cf. viii. 5. It is altogether wanting in the Book of Origins; עָשָׂה, "to make," as the commoner word, may interchange with it or be associated with בָּרָא as explanatory, as in Gen. ii. 3.

[3] As Gen. ii. 8.

wholly the same as those most perceptible in the perfecting of creation. For in creation it is not, strictly considered, omnipotence merely which creates everything in conformity to the divine will, and which no doubt is first and necessary in such activity; there are purely divine powers also conceivable which correspond fully to the divine will in creation, and which may be thrown into very prominent relief as participating in the work of creation. Such "powers" of God may therefore be distinguished, and may be called co-ordinate powers of creation, manifesting themselves as they do in creation as from the depths of the divine nature. An entirely new view of creation thus opens, which in its divine significance reaches higher, in its human significance goes deeper, than the simpler view thus given. Such a co-ordinate creative energy has the same significance for the entire creation in all its parts; it is not the sole energy, but it may be thought of as such when its special significance is recognised and it comes into special prominence. Historically considered, as the Bible clearly shows, these separate creative powers became properly conspicuous, and were definitely traced only at successive intervals, until at length the whole series received due notice and adequate estimation. Their importance demands that we direct special attention to them.

Reviewing, therefore, the different accounts of creation, and explaining them as in every case resulting from the idea of the co-operation of both those simple constituent parts of their contents and their amalgamation with each other, we must at the same time carefully note what creative power is in every case added, and in what way. For with such completeness have they all come into existence, that no one of them which we know at all in its entire essential coherence appears without allusion to the special creative energy it holds to be significant. They may be distinguished partly by the period to which they belong, partly by the creative power which is associated with God's omnipotence in creation; and we shall see that to the five periods we can here distinguish

there corresponds the series of five creative powers which completes their circle, and may in the last issue be simplified into two.

1. *The oldest Narrative; the Spirit of God.*

§ 247. The oldest narrative derived from the Book of Origins forms an extremely suitable prologue to the Pentateuch, and indeed to the whole Bible, and an appropriate introduction to all that higher history that involves the knowledge of the true God. In its firm outlines and essential elements, so far as the parts of creation and the order in which they arose are concerned, it comes down from the remotest antiquity of which we have any clear traces. To have preserved so transparently and so faithfully through manifold changes the oldest ideas upon this subject is one of the many excellences of this inestimable narrative.[1] But the spirit which it now breathes and which gives so complete and magnificent a unity to these primitive deposits and remnants of sacred tradition, in the new and splendid form they now wear, can have found its source only in the true religion subsequently to Moses; and this feature of it is seen in three aspects:

1. First of all, in the purely elevated way in which God's creative work is here conceived and described. As this narrative, renewing somewhat the series of the particular parts of the great universe, yet presents it essentially with the highest simplicity according to the ancient conception, so it describes the work of creation itself with the same antique simplicity rising here from the nature of the subject to an appropriate and divine simplicity. It is, however, the creative power of God itself which in this antique sublimity conspicuously pervades the narrative; and it is thrown into prominence by the greatest and most sublime subject of which history up to this time has anything to say. Of

[1] Gen. i.–ii. 4. The Fifth Narrator in ii. 4 interpolates יהוה before אלהים.

every part of creation, carefully investigated, it may be said, it has been created as according to the divine will and aim to which it answers it must be created; but applying this to all the distinguishable great parts of the present universe as to their separate creation, it may be said of every one, it actually became just as it was to be according to the divine will and aim. So in this narrative is continually repeated "and God said" . . . "and it was so," and nothing is in all brevity more conformable to the idea of supreme Omnipotence, nothing more eloquent, than this uniform repetition through all the great parts of all the creation of the universe. The very brevity is sublime, and the absence or failure of human speech becomes a suitable memorial of that which no human thought can compass.

2. This expressive brevity is, indeed, of the very essence and art of the whole presentation.[1] But where it has to explain the divine creative thoughts of every part of the great universe, and consequently its nature, its determination, and its eternal aim, there the discourse rises into jubilant tones, and the brevity becomes an exuberant redundance, partly when the flowing manifoldness of the different kinds of life with the primordial determinateness and unvarying similarity of such life has to be depicted,[2] partly when the creation of man is dealt with as the last goal and crown of the whole creation. So then the creative thought, including in itself the nature, destination, and aim, or the definite

[1] Art is seen in the three sharp, precise, yet clear and comprehensive sentences about Chaos. (1) "The earth," *i.e.* the broad expanse of all matter, "was a desert and a waste" (infinitely desolate); (2) "and darkness was upon the face of the abyss," *i.e.* of the infinite and limitless depths as of the expanse below; (3) "whilst the Spirit of God brooded upon the waters," *i.e.* the water which surrounded the upper surface of this expanse. What a series of diverse, long prevalent conceptions of Chaos are here presupposed and now artistically condensed! A similar brevity is shown in the two lines (ver. 27) that describe the nature of man, where "man" in his universality and so far indeterminateness and indefinite unity as he appears in the first clause, passes at once in the second into his full determinateness, *i.e.* plurality, since אדם in Hebrew may mean both; cf. *Lehrbuch*, § 176*b*.

[2] So ver. 11 f., vers. 14–18, ver. 21, ver. 24 f.; also as just explained ver. 27*b*.

manifoldness of all the great parts of the universe, becomes a "word of God"[1] to which immediately the actual genesis and firm subsistence of things correspond. But the creation produces thus in contrast with Chaos the permanent determinateness of existence and life, which are infinitely manifold and yet well established and well graduated; and since speech serves for the expression of all this in its idea, and speech in so far becomes a divine necessity within creation, God's creative word at length issues into the "naming" of the parts of creation, as if such short and compact terms expressed the nature and idea of these objects according to the divine will.[2] So certainly does the necessity and origin of speech go back to the divine origin and import of the different things themselves; as, indeed, is indicated by the fulness of this narrative, which notwithstanding its brevity is yet rich in contents and thought.[3]

3. Whilst, however, the narrative in all rapid brevity describes so perfectly the infinite manifoldness of the universe as well in its original basis as in its continually self-renewing individual life, it gathers up this diversity into the still higher ultimate truth that all the parts it introduces are "good," and the whole therefore, as all at length coincides in the most perfect goodness, "very good." What infinite truth rests in

[1] According to M. Abôth, v. 1, some scholars of repute infer from the repetition of "God said" in Gen. i. that the universe was made by ten verbal commands; and this number is certainly drawn from vers. 3, 6, 9, 11, 14, 20, 24, 26, 28, 29; but it is inexact, since ver. 22 is of like sense with ver. 28, and though somewhat more briefly put should be counted if ver. 28 is counted. It is only a Rabbinical conceit.

[2] What was thus begun (Gen. i. 5, 8, 10) might have been continued with reference to the succeeding parts, if the narrator had not supposed that the literal import of the succeeding works was self-evident. The meaning is not that precisely what we now call "day," "heaven," "earth," then appeared as phenomena, but that God Himself called His creation on the first day of its genesis as men now constantly call it. If the purpose the light is to serve is not stated, it is readily obvious from its antithesis, ver. 4. But the light receives its new name "day" in the remodelling of the old narrative to show the history of the origin of the weeks and the Sabbath.

[3] Gen. ii. 19–23 also gives the origin of speech. Both place it in the primitive age, but Gen. ii. transforms the setting of the older account in harmony with its fundamental thought.

this conception! The narrative certainly emphasizes it as of the highest value and importance. Who, indeed, does not feel with what inward trembling of highest joy in his own spirit, the narrator at the close of the account of the separate parts of creation adds, "God saw the work that was done that it was good;" just as a true artist and master-worker only as he is, at last convinced of the quality of his work, allows himself freely to indulge the thought of its goodness? And with what higher trembling of this joy does he relate at the end that "God saw," as in one glance, "all that He had created," *i.e.* the whole universe, and found it "very good"! And as if also an emphatic outward importance should be given to this perfecting and finishing of the universe, "good" even in the eyes of God Himself as Creator, the same narrator who bounds the divine primæval work with the rest of the seventh day, and six times as the work proceeds appropriately repeats the divine verdict "good," crowns the whole at last with "very good," as with the fitting seventh day consecration; thus one sacred seven is endorsed by the other. Moreover, as every part of the creation opens uniformly with "God said," so all closes with "good," "very good," in like uniformity, and everything, however diverse in nature, bears in its determinateness and aim, and in its pure divine quality of goodness, but one and the same impress, and the universe is and is to be only the universe of the true God. Such in its simplicity is the grand teaching of this magnificent narrative.

§ 248. So far the simplicity of this narrative appears to place at the side of the Creator only omnipotence. For indeed the goodness which inheres in all creation points back only to a goodness which invests and penetrates His creature coming from the innermost being and will of the Creator, but as a special creative power goodness is not here represented. It would appear, then, that omnipotence itself is the only creative power.

But this is only in appearance. For just at that point of the story in which a relic of the oldest conception of the

genesis of the universe is appropriated, viz. Chaos—subsequently vanishing more and more from view—just here the thought of a co-ordinate creative power is added, for the first time, which is of the greatest significance. The idea of Chaos must ever be repugnant to the genius of the true religion. But while heathenism imagines a deity who arises only in the period of Chaos and disperses the confusion, the true God in this narrative is already existent prior to the whole creation, and it is His Spirit that comes to scatter the Chaos, "brooding[1] upon the waters," as a bird, until the warm and quickened life appears. This image was the more readily suggested as "spirit" and "soul" in Hebrew, as in all Semitic tongues, are feminine;[2] and without doubt it was not used for the first time in our narrative. Weighing what lies in the image, we get a very important truth. The Spirit of God appears here, as according to the Bible in all human history, as the enemy of all disorder and crudeness, as the spring and source of all impulse that awakens and advances in the universe the life that answers to the divine will, as touching and surrounding with unceasing and unwearied energy him to whom by the divine will this same Spirit must already be nearest to his own.[3] The primæval Chaos is therefore the most mighty example of the unordered which the Spirit has to reduce to order, and of the crude which the Spirit has to prepare to hear the divine voice and receive the

[1] The rare רִחַף, Gen. i. 2, signifies, according to the singularly appropriate image, "to brood," as in Deut. xxxii. 11. It is related in its root with רָחַם, and means "to soften," "to warm." The image is found also in the Veda; cf. Banerjea's *Dialogues of Hindoo Philosophy*, London 1861, p. 486.

[2] *Lehrbuch*, § 454, last edition. Only in Æthiopic and the newer African tongues related with it is a masculine term "head" used in certain phrases as with us in a sense akin to that of "spirit" and "soul." But it is merely African, and according to all indications only in Africa has penetrated into Semitic.

[3] If in passages like B. Isa. lxiii. 10, it is said, "They grieved God's Holy Spirit," those are spoken of to whom this Spirit had come as closely as possible, and who should have guarded themselves against "grieving" or "provoking" (Deut. xxxii. 21) the friend who had come so near. It is only such a friend that one can most deeply and unpardonably grieve and provoke.

divine life. It is as if only the activity of this supreme energy could suffice to illumine the most dismal darkness, and scatter the wildest confusion antiquity knew. Two things are to be noted—(1) This pure Spirit of God appears in the Bible in the oldest and simplest narrative of Creation as a singularly high, self-dependent, divine energy, which God sends as He wills, and which on its part, as a divine energy never separated from God, accomplishes its work. (2) This Spirit of God in this self-dependence appears here as a really co-ordinate creative divine power, since apart from the mere omnipotence of God, and before the word of power goes forth in creation, its own preparatory work is such that without it the word of power cannot sound at the right moment. For as the Spirit, wherever it works, works as a firm, inexhaustible though hidden and imperceptible energy, and in the course of the world works by way of preparation for a length of time until the ground is made ready for the new mighty life that at the right moment appears, so here its divine co-operation in the creation of the universe is conceived.

2. *The later Narrative;*[1] *the Man of God.*

§ 249. The thought of a co-ordinate creative power which was scarcely more than unfolded in the earliest narrative, became in the course of the succeeding centuries an increasingly fruitful thought, and led to many new and profound glimpses into that mystery which no mortal eye beheld, but the traces of which nevertheless so certainly extend to the realities of this present universe. Indeed, this thought dominated gradually the whole field of vision as the higher feeling endeavoured, when the divine omnipotence as the primarily

[1] Gen. ii. 5–iii. 24, which is the more difficult to understand inasmuch as it consists only of fragments from which the original Whole has to be conjectured, while only from such Whole can the fragments be rightly estimated. Fortunately, however, so much has come to hand that what is wanting may be trustworthily supplied, far more so than in the case of a dismembered work of architecture or sculpture.

creative power was established, to grasp that element beyond which touches most deeply the divine intention and purpose of creation. Among all the individual creations, the highest is man, and unquestionably the aim of creation most nearly concerns and is most profoundly related to him. It was precisely the growing perception of the true nature of man which led the mind a step further in its contemplation, and gave currency to that conception of which we would now more particularly speak.

No doubt the older narrative of creation, notwithstanding its characteristic brevity, had already exhibited, with an eloquence at once perspicuous and sublime, the high dignity and unique peculiarity which distinguish man as part of creation. Three aspects of that presentation upon which everything depends, it is necessary here very carefully to consider. In the outset it is remarkable that this narrative represents the creation of man as the crowning work of God; and the feeling of the incomparably high significance of this last creative work penetrates the narrative most conspicuously. There is no longer, as in the earlier creations, the mere pronouncing of the creative fiat; as if the Creator Himself felt what a surpassing moment of interest is the moment of man's entrance into the world, the creative thought swells as it were into joyous emotion, and the solemn repose of the narrative is broken as by the trembling of a higher joy.[1] With concise but striking definiteness, the idea of the high and unique grandeur of this creation is comprehended in the two determinations that man is to be formed as to his essence in the image of God, and as to his prerogative, the ruler over all the earlier creations; and what high meaning and significance are here involved! Moreover, if the great God

[1] According to Gen. v. 1–3, this high strain of discourse continues to be maintained still further in this same Book of Origins. For this reason, as the style of composition shows a movement of rare and bounding emotion, no sharp distinction in the matter here dealt with is to be thought of between צֶלֶם, "image," and דְּמוּת, "likeness."

gives a simple discharge to all the rest of His works when He has created them, and adds in the case of the living things of earth the blessing of increase indispensable to their transient perishable nature, upon man He lays a special injunction which, containing in itself both command and prohibition, applies to individual will, and thus conditions the beginning of all changeful development in human history; so that here on the very threshold of his existence may be surmised by this third characteristic what a wholly different creation it is that steps with man into the world.[1]

Such is the oldest narrative in the form it took at the time of the highest glory of the ancient nation in all the calmness of its pride; and well does it show the marks of the happily-contented elevation of that time. But however strikingly the peculiar lofty nature of man as a creature was indicated in those few traits of imperishable truth and beauty, there came upon the ancient community soon enough times when the growing corruption of all mankind was profoundly felt. With new force the question then arose, What is man in his essential original being, as also his degenerate present and whole future, and how may the glaring contradiction be explained, that a creature raised so high above all others could nevertheless sink down even deeper than all others? A real enigma was thus presented in the earnest contemplation of things; and the enigma was capable of a thorough solution only as the eager eye perceived more vividly the original divine destiny of man, and kept this firmly and purely before it in its eternal significance. Man, as he steps into view before us now in the midst of the current of unfinished human history, under the burden of error and sin, is not man as he ought to be, not man in his real intention and according to the divine will, and therefore not as he originally was when he went forth from

[1] How significant the special feature of the narrative in Gen. i. 30 f. is, has often been explained, and this older narrative in so far implies in some measure what the later narrative in its own way only carries out further.

the hand of the Creator wholly pure and good, nor as he at last must become if his divine destiny is not to prove futile. Thus the first step for our narrator in the solving of the problem was to distinguish strictly between man conceivable as originally created in his pure determination according to the will of God and the historical man, between the typical, archetypal man and the man of to-day,[1] between the spiritual[2] and the carnal man, the man of God and the man of sin. What high doctrine and what fascination may lie in this distinction as it is vividly realized in thought! And our narrator presents it with all sharpness of outline, not merely placing side by side man as conceived in his divinely-given original glory, and man as fallen from it, but as a genuine historical thinker he explains and sets forth the possibility of the transition from the former to the latter, and also makes apparent the other possibility, viz. the restoration of the erring and strayed. Only with this does the narrative attain the charming completeness which distinguishes it.

But while in the first of the three parts of his narrative so formed, he directs his view to the original purity and divine glory of man, celebrated in the older narrative, and also in many a sacred tradition beside,[3] it seems to him as if this primary man, standing in his purity in immediate nearness to God, must have been formed not merely in point of worth, but also in point of time, at the summit of all the creations of God. The reason for this is obvious. Side by side with God, man was to be represented as the witness of the whole glory of the creating, that is, of

[1] That is, in the language of the schools, the ideal and the empirical man.

[2] In the sense of the πνευματικός of Paul, 1 Cor. ii. 13 ff. ; Gal. vi. 1.

[3] A short summary upon this matter may here be given. The Cherubs mentioned in Gen. iii. 24 belong to the oldest treasure of representative forms held sacred in the nation of Israel. The "tree of life," on the contrary, and everything connected with it, is foreign to the Book of Origins : it is found first in the Solomonic writings (cf. *Dichter des A. Bs.* ii. 4, 2nd ed.), and is known to us to-day from the Assyrian sculptures as reverenced in those lands. The tradition of Paradise as it appears in Gen. ii. 10–14 was inserted by the Fifth Narrator.

the true God, and introduced into his proper work and his whole proper life by God Himself, in connection with the young creation as it arose, so that he might learn with Him to be a creator. And is not man the only creature of God who can actually behold in their beginnings the things already existing before the universe as it now is, and follow God Himself in His wonderful works? Moreover, at the time of our narrator, stories of creation had long abounded in all lands; might it not therefore be thought because of this, that man in his primæval purity and spirituality had been the actual witness of the creating God, and had thus learned to know God, and to become with Him and after Him himself a creator? The thought of man as witness of the divine creation and joint-creator may be a very bold thought, but rightly understood there are sound reasons for it.

But to what lofty narration must the material grow to our narrator, if, proceeding from this conception, he places the old traditional works of creation in the moment of their origin under the hand of God in close connection with the primary man as spectator, as if they were made expressly for him! When, at the termination of Chaos, the primary man is created, God introduces him to the stars then newly formed, Chaos having wholly disappeared before their glory, and teaches him, as he is ready to fall down before them, that not they but only He Himself is the true God.[1] Vege-

[1] The creation of the stars and what is connected with it must have had its place in the original narrative between Gen. ii. 7 and ver. 8, and should not be omitted if the whole narrative is to have coherence and meaning. For Chaos mentioned in ver. 5 comes to an end according to the plan and structure of the narrative only after ver. 7, and it must have been told that it comes to an end here, and how, viz. by the creation of the orbs of heaven. And just as evident is it that the command of God in ver. 16 cannot have been the first word of God to man; that He must have revealed Himself to him earlier; and that the best opportunity for this was offered when the orbs of heaven made their appearance. Even in the older narrative, in the same way, the word i. 29, otherwise corresponding to i. 16, is not the first word of God to man. The Fifth Narrator, however, certainly left out this portion here because he wished to unite the beginning of the whole narrative as closely as possible with the older one, and presupposed the creation of light and the orbs of heaven as sufficiently known to the readers from Gen. i. 3 f., 14-18.

tation now following is as if it were only for him, in order to initiate him in the divine garden of earth, Paradise, into his proper work, and also into the proper life he is to lead in the observance of the divine command and prohibition. The beasts of the earth are now created as if just as expressly for him; and as only now begins for man a life associated with sentient and active creatures, near to him, and with nature more or less akin to his own, and as it is of advantage to distinguish well the different kinds of nearly similar existences, he is moved by God in the finding of names for "the beast of the field and the fowl of the air" to become himself a creator, although only of things intellectual. Thus speech appears at this point very suitably as a human creation of things belonging to mind, though prescribed and demanded by God, and as the oldest of its kind and still from Paradise. But as this creation of beasts, having no sufficient affinity with man, is, according to the divine will, only to prepare the way for that of woman, there comes as soon as she is added,[1] and indeed with the very addition itself, that turn of things which closes the first part of this whole primitive history of man, and destroys his first innocence.

Such is this higher history with its fully exact and lofty truth, if only it be rightly understood. We shall soon see, however, how a history related to it, yet incomparably higher, is added. But before this we must pause to consider another view of creation, and the divine power manifest in it.

3. *Wisdom as Co-ordinate Creator.*

§ 250. In the earlier times of the community of Israel it is only rarely, and in a restricted and narrow sense, that any

[1] According to this narrator, the number of the divine works of creation by remodelling the series and numbers of the earlier tradition returned to the round number five—(1) the man of God, (2) the orbs of heaven, (3) vegetation, (4) beasts, (5) the wife of the man and marriage. Such a reduction to a less number is not surprising; cf. § 247.

representation bearing a resemblance to wisdom as an energy of God is found. But when schools of wisdom were established in Israel, and a growing love of wisdom or philosophy, with the observance of its precepts and counsels of life, took root in the nation, it was otherwise. More and more was it then distinctly shown what wisdom is in itself, and what power dwells in it; and there occurred among the people, when the right conception as to the profound, powerful, and immortal characteristics wisdom should possess found acceptance, a mighty transformation, more possible in this community than in any other ancient nation, and to which our subject calls us to glance. For, beginning with scanty and infrequent references, wisdom was at length contemplated as side by side with God a co-ordinate creator of the universe, and was raised accordingly to the rank of such co-ordinate creative "powers," the highest things being said of it that could be said of any power but God Himself. In order to understand how this vast and extraordinary advance was possible, we must carefully weigh the two following considerations.

On the one hand, wisdom had at this time been long recognised as a true factor of life of the highest significance, as a power which might serve to secure to the man who possessed and used it the noblest and most inexhaustible blessings. It was regarded, moreover, as a possession which no man was able to win and appropriate to himself as he might an outward means of power, or a visible costly treasure, and thus find with it as in such personal estate the blessing he hoped for, the boon he prized.[1] In the first period of the diligent search for wisdom or philosophy, the Solomonic, this conviction was ripe and powerful enough in Israel. But a direct and fruitful inference from it was that wisdom as a supreme and purely spiritual power which, like all purely

[1] According to Prov. xvii. 16 in the more ordinary, and Job xxviii. 15 in the higher style of discourse; with which other passages may be compared which speak of the excellence and preciousness of wisdom. All such proverbs as Prov. xvii. 16 are intelligible only as a custom even in those early times is supposed of giving instruction in philosophy as we say for an *honorarium*.

spiritual blessings, no man perfectly possessed as an external treasure in any period or situation of his life, could have its abiding seat and its perennial source only in God Himself. And this inference the Book of Job drew as a new high truth, and elucidated it as minutely and as clearly and brilliantly as such a truth not yet commonly accepted deserved.[1]

On the other hand, wisdom may be contemplated not only as a power active in its possessor and creating that which is new, but also as in its fruits a phenomenon, a phenomenon which may be recognised in the things made or created as they are with and by its aid. It is then that invisible quality — visible enough by its marks and traces — which exists in those things in which it may be discerned, and which reveal it anew more and more to every attentive or more deeply inquiring observer. Experience and exacter investigation, however, further show that the whole universe was not only created by wisdom,[2] but is also the visible image of the supreme wisdom. Even if in detached parts such wisdom at first glance comes perhaps to be overlooked by the inquiring mind, the survey of the whole reveals the more clearly that there is a wise reason for everything, and that but one divine wisdom assuredly pervades the whole creation.

When these two conceptions are united, there is, so to speak, but a single leap from them to the thought of wisdom as such a supreme divine power, at once in relation to the universe a co-ordinate creator with God, and in relation to God as a delicate artist standing by His side to serve Him in creation. But near as the thought appears to lie, even at the distance of only a single bound, it was not the poet of the Book of Job who took it, but the later author of the prologue to the Book of Proverbs. In this prologue wisdom is conceived in such absolute self-dependence, and with immortal

[1] What the poet teaches in Job xxviii. can hardly have been at that time a common conception, even if it should be the last higher view the poet aims to make it.

[2] So most generally but most simply Ps. civ. 24 ; similarly Job xxxviii. 37 ; Jer. x. 12 ; more remote is Isa. xxviii. 29.

truth made to manifest itself to all men as well in its ante-mundane and supra-mundane significance and power as in its eternal continuance in the universe.[1]

But wisdom as a co-ordinate creative power with God then steps forth as it were into the place of the Spirit of God, which first of all was contemplated as such power. The more readily could this exchange take place, since both "wisdom" and "spirit" are alike thought of in Hebrew as feminine. Wisdom must then also be considered, just as the Spirit of God had been, as pre-mundane power; but whilst this is self-evident of the Spirit of God, such a representation of wisdom was till then so little conceived that the poet expressly admits into its self-characterization this feature, that it could boast of having been created of God before all time and worlds as the artist of the universe, sporting before Him as His child.[2] It was thus only the ripest period of Hebrew philosophy proper that recognised so profoundly the significance and power of all genuine wisdom, and taught the eternal truth that it is the same supreme wisdom which has pervaded the whole universe from the beginning as a purely divine power, and which now and in all ages may be eagerly sought and apprehended by man. Such a truth is a worthy subject upon which with the intensest glow of spirit to expatiate to the utmost; and our didactic poet in his high

[1] In the chief passage, Prov. viii. 22–31, according to the briefer suggestion iii. 19 f. This short suggestion is just of the kind that indicates that this poet could not have been the first to express this truth; he speaks much too briefly, and as presupposing that the matter itself was already familiar. But it would be a mistake to cite the words in Job xxviii. 23, 27 f. as relevant here, for in that passage wisdom is, it is true, considered as pre-mundane, but it is as a kind of instrument which a wise builder makes use of for planning and taking the dimensions of his work, which instrument he therefore carefully inspects beforehand (מְסַפֵּר, from סָפַר, muster-master, inspector of troops), and critically examines to see if it will adjust and regulate everything properly. And this image only is suitable in that whole connection of discourse.

[2] When it was a matter of contention among Christians in later times whether the Logos were created or uncreated, the words, Prov. viii. 22, in their proper meaning (ὁ κύριος ἔκτισέ με, LXX.), occasioned a difficulty which had no place in the poet's mind, and for which, according to what is said above, there was no ground.

poetic mood so expatiates with the glowing buoyancy of his mind, and describes wisdom as though it had aided as an artist in the creation of the world, sporting before God as a child at His side. A step further in this representation, or a crass and frigid benumbing of the first pure life in it, and we should have a Greek Athena or a Roman Minerva; but from such a step in this, as in similar cases, the fine and delicate feeling of the true religion recoiled.

Such was the highest flight of what to-day would be called philosophic thought which Israel attained during the flourishing of its free national life and peculiar schools of wisdom. The representation, however, was not carried further; there was no narrative of creation based upon it, and the conception of this pre-mundane creative power did not penetrate more deeply into the nation. The son of Sirach, indeed, subsequently repeated the sublime picturing which in his day could already be found and read in Holy Scripture.[1] He repeated it nevertheless only in new and artistically drawn images, and with an addition highly characteristic of his time, by which the divine wisdom is likened to the Holy Law; but without any other essential alteration. Rather did the glance that with increasing boldness and consistency of aim searched on all sides into the secret of the origin of creation and of the universe,[2] turn back, during this period or near it, with new keenness of vision to the second of these representations, already described § 249; and with what result our next section must show.

4. *The Son of God as Co-ordinate Creator.*

§ 251. In the rise and unfolding of this new and important conception, the mightiest impulse which could work at that time in the community, viz. the prophetic impulse, lent its

[1] Ecclus. xxiv.; similarly but earlier, Bar. iii. 9–iv. 1 f.

[2] Not without purpose is there so much said about the same period of the secrets of wisdom, Job xi. 6, xv. 8.

aid. The Messiah Himself was conceived as were He from the primitive time with God as His Son, and as such co-ordinate creator with Him.[1] But in order rightly to apprehend this subject, at the very first glance very difficult to understand even in its possibility, we must carefully weigh the following details:—

1. It would be idle to figure to ourselves this conception of the Messiah as in point of time the oldest, as though the Messiah had been thought of from the first as co-ordinate creator with God, existing with Him before all the worlds, the Son hidden in His bosom and sharing the sovereignty with Him; and as though the hope and expectation of a Messiah had proceeded from this fundamental thought. This hope had indeed a different origin, which may be ascertained with sufficient certainty, as is elsewhere shown.[2] But after centuries had elapsed without fulfilling the hope of the Messiah, which in the community of the true religion, from stage to stage, had grown increasingly vivid and perfect, this hope might have expired completely had it not been enkindled afresh and sustained in its glow by a new and mighty fire which was never again to die down. The danger of absolute extinction arose in the long and weary days of the great spiritual darkness under Manasseh's rule, in the extreme old age and up to the martyr-death of Isaiah. For Isaiah and his friends had fanned the ancient flame anew and kept it vigorously burning; but when in the decline of all public affairs under Manasseh this intent and eager Messianic hope, thus warmly cherished, was grievously and profoundly disappointed, it must either vanish for ever from the innermost heart and fervent desire of the community, or be kindled altogether anew by the pure force of some additional and higher truth. And such accession of force by the aid of far higher material which might rekindle the fire threatening

[1] The sense of πρὸς τὸν Θεόν thus to express, John i. 1. Cf. *Die Johan. Schriften*, i. p. 116.

[2] *History*, iv. 201–213.

utterly to expire, waited now close at hand the favourable moment when it could actually fall upon the hearth and set everything in a new glow that should not again be extinguished.

2. For, according to § 249, the view at that time might long since have been turned to the primary man as witness of creation and in a certain respect co-ordinate creator, and everything conceivable and recognisable on this side had already become familiar to the inspired glance as it surveyed this lofty subject. The conception retains its truth as above discussed; yet if it had its truth, that truth might become unusually augmented if the Messiah Himself were thought of as such primary man of purely divine elevation and glory; and this thought, to the mind inquiring with divine inspiration about what is highest, purest, and mightiest in human affairs, was then possible. The last anchor of the faithful had been for centuries the hope in the coming of the Messiah, which had grown more and more vivid; but it had now, as we have seen, received its severest blow and suffered its deepest disappointment. If then this hope was not wholly to vanish, it must now be raised above all temporal conditions, above all casualty, and be conceived in its eternal and indestructible significance. The idea, the nature, the destination, the necessity of the Messiah must be brought into inseparable union with the primordial will of God in relation to humanity as the aim of the whole existing creation, and hope in Him must be built in this way upon a basis firm as a rock and free from all the changes and contingency of Time.[1] If, therefore, the thought of a divine primary man lay already before the mind, as we have seen it did, the Messiah could the more readily be raised incomparably above Adam, who was at first purely divine, but had historically fallen and could be thought of as the primary man. As such, the Messiah could be regarded as

[1] In this way the aggrandisement or transfiguration of the idea of the Messiah which followed was very similar to that which took place subsequently at the right moment with reference to the historical Messiah, and for very similar reasons. Cf. *History*, vi. 410 f., vii. 45 ff.

incapable of corruption by contact with evil and sin, always with God and still remaining with Him in order finally to become, as promised by the great true prophets, the redeemer and perfecter of the same humanity whose head and eternal King He was with God before all creation and so remained. Such, henceforth, is He who is elevated above all temporal contingency, abiding securely for ever with God, and at last at the right moment visibly appearing as the immortal King of the community of all true religion, for whose coming no one could hope in vain, because in Him and His pure elevation the ultimate destiny, and so the beginning and end of all existing humanity, are inseparably bound up and involved.

3. But this entire representation was perfected only as not merely the earlier form of it, that of the primary man as witness of creation and in part co-ordinate creator with God, became raised and transfigured in this way simultaneously with the Messianic hope, but as also the conception of wisdom as co-ordinate creator with God was also amalgamated with it. This idea of wisdom, as we have said before, could not readily penetrate beyond the circle of those who more particularly grasped what wisdom must be in its purest and absolutely divine significance. The image of it as an artist standing at the side of the Creator always tended to remain rather a poetic fancy than to pass over into the true religion as a conception familiar and easily intelligible to the whole nation. But when the essential elements of it were united with the transfigured idea of the Messiah, so that He was considered not merely as witness and partially co-worker with God in creation, but also as fully co-ordinate creator with Him from the beginning, then in point of fact the consummation of this idea was attained. For if the Spirit of God is to be thought of as in the most immediate and deepest sense that power without which the divine creation could neither arise nor subsist, and if the ordinary man is not to be thought of as without some if even the smallest participation in this

Spirit, how much more must this primary man, perfected in the highest degree, be conceived as participant of this Spirit, and as with God active before all the worlds, and co-ordinate creator thereof! Moreover, the idea of one merely active as a witness of creation is also too feeble here. For however deep may be the impression an act of witnessing may make, this impression may momentarily or gradually become enfeebled, and only that is deep and abiding which comes of an actual share and participation in activity. No representation was therefore more appropriate in this case than that of this pre-mundane Messiah as the Son of God, who ever rested in the bosom of God, but was also at His side in creation as the Son with the Father. An over-venturous imagination might possibly have designated wisdom the delicate artist co-operating in the framing of the universe as the daughter of God; this, however, never happened. On the other hand, the conception of this pre-mundane Messiah as the Son of God was the more readily formed, the higher the representations of the yet more simply-apprehended Messiah stood, mounting up to the very verge of the purely divine,—representations which already, in the restless yearning to behold His advent, Isaiah had sketched and made immortal.[1]

That we have now in the Old Testament no longer any passage in which this new conception is given in detail, as we have in the two previous cases, is matter for regret. But it is accidental, and is found also in the following case (§ 252). We have, however, in the Old Testament sufficient evidence of the existence of this view. In the Book of Job, for example, there is a reference, purely incidental, but yet plain enough to a wholly unusual "man," who, born before all

[1] The words Isa. ix. 6, 7, xi. 1–5, Micah v. 2–4, are here meant. However high these words go, what is here touched upon may not be derived from them; not even from the mention of the "primitive time" and the "days primæval," in Micah v. 2, as if here they were spoken of the pre-mundane Messiah. The sense and connection of the words are against every supposition of the kind.

others, is constantly with God, sharing His secret as the son of a king that of his father, and knowing and understanding everything divine.[1] This unusual personage is not an angel, nor is he one among other men of like nature, but purely as first in time, so incomparable in spirit and divinity, the pre-mundane man, who is not here designated Messiah, but is conceivable as such in the coherence and system of all the higher fundamental thoughts of the people of the community of the true God. If he is only mentioned incidentally, so much the more does such mention in its simplicity presuppose a belief in him. The Book of Job is the earliest book which may serve as evidence upon this subject. Subsequently Ezekiel, likewise incidentally but with sufficient plainness also, depicts a being who is placed on a level neither with a High Priest nor with a Cherub; but as the highest pattern of all human perfection, glory, wisdom, and moral purity dwells in Paradise:[2] even as by a later prophet also a most brilliant star of Heaven is mentioned;[3] and only because the connection of the discourse did not lead to it, is it not suggested that this Blameless One of the primæval time was co-ordinate creator with God. But he is distinctly enough indicated as such in the seventh century before Christ, under the definite name of the son of God, in a passage where the discourse is merely of the wonders of creation;[4] and other testimonies from later times will subsequently be given. He who weighs all this carefully will not doubt that we have here before us broken fragments of a wide fundamental thought, incidental but nevertheless highly significant reminis-

[1] Job xv. 7 f. That the allusions in this remarkable passage point to something like the Logos, was remarked in my exposition of the Book of Job, in 1836.

[2] Ezek. xxviii. 12–15. The sentences otherwise apparently so obscure, viz. 12, 13*a*, 15, *i.e.* the first and last sentences of the whole splendid picturing, must refer to the pre-mundane man of Paradise, who is always there and is not driven from it as was Adam, Gen. iii. Cf. *Prophets*, iv. 146 f.

[3] B. Isa. xiv. 12. That the image is here ironically used and applied is as little surprising as in the passage in Ezekiel; indeed, Ezekiel gives the precedent for this prophet, who is later by half a century.

[4] Prov. xxx. 4.

cences of a grand conception of the Messiah as co-ordinate creator with God. This conception might arise in the eighth century before Christ, outside the circle in which an Isaiah and Micah moved, and might have been recorded in some attractive writing, until it became in the seventh century more and more cherished and familiar. That it never again could vanish from the wide circle of all such deeply-fixed fundamental thoughts of the community, but in the course of centuries became more and more powerfully effective, will be evident as we proceed.

5. *The Word of God (the Logos) as Co-ordinate Creator.*

§ 252. But the circle of all such retrospect, as we have described, into the mysteries of the whole primitive creation, could not be fully closed, as contemplation continued to be extremely active in this direction, until there entered at last with preponderating force the idea of the Word of God, the Logos, as co-ordinate creator. With the idea of the Word as the creative power of God, there enters, it is true, something different from all the earlier powers, something which only in the later times of the community is closely united with this circle, and which then first receives its highest significance. But in its simplest sense the idea of the Word of God as a power by which the creation is formed, belongs rather to the oldest narrative of creation,[1] and is immediately derived from it. The "Word" presupposes a corresponding "thought" in the mind of the speaker; it reveals it, however, and projects it in full activity from the hidden mind into the universe.[2]

[1] § 247. 2.

[2] The terms λόγος and λογισμός—as the last is found in Rom. ii. 15, and 2 Cor. x. 4, and very often in the Apocrypha, well represent and illustrate the connection between "word" and "thought." As a word of remoter derivation no doubt λογισμός signifies only our *berechnung*, but λέγω, "to read," expresses originally "a taking together," as דִּבֶּר "to discourse," "to arrange one after another;" so that λόγος, as דָּבָר and *verbum*, expresses a full if possibly the

From the Spirit it is distinguished in that it throws a clear and definite thought into the universe, and in so far can work creatively in another way, as the Spirit works alone and of itself.[1] Since, however, even the Word itself proceeds from an impulse of the Spirit as the deepest source of power, both may thus co-operate.[2]

1. If now it is referred to God, it may, as applied in this sense to the "God said" . . . "and it was so," continually repeated in the oldest history of creation, indicate accordingly the power by which every part of creation corresponds to the divine will and thought concerning it; and thus from the deep impression which that oldest history of creation made this whole representation proceeds.[3] But in the existing universe there may also be much that is new and unexpected, which without the divine omnipotence could not appear as phenomenon; and since all things may serve a special purpose and aim of God, a special thought of God must be contained in all things. Thus all things may be contemplated as arising by a Word sent of God.[4] The Word of God, because it is not limited to creation merely, but has a special significance, became gradually conceived as a special power standing as it were ready to God's hand, which God sends how and where He will; and the peculiarity by which it is distinguished from the Spirit is always that it relates to definite things, all of which bear in themselves a special divine thought, or, as we might also finally say, His special reason. To an earthly king his word and command stand ever at his side to serve him as the needs of his kingdom seem to him to require; how much

shortest sentence, *i.e.* thought (not a mere name, a *nomen*), just as *rechnung*, *ratio*, and λογισμός results only from an interchange of speech. With דָּבָר λόγος, alternates אִמְרָה only poetically, Ps. cxlvii. 15, according to the parallelism, Ps. cxix. 58, 76, and ῥῆμα, Bar. iv. 37, v. 5; Heb. i. 3, xi. 3.

[1] § 249.

[2] As in Ps. xxxiii. 6, "the breath (spirit) of His mouth" alternates with the "word of God;" similarly B. Isa. lix. 21.

[3] According to Ps. xxxiii. 6, 9, and many other passages. The image is most strongly coloured in B. Isa. xlviii. 13.

[4] As in Ps. cvii. 20.

more is this the case with God![1] But as the divine aim of any created thing determined from the beginning may in its temporal continuance vary, but the divine word which it bears it bears equally the whole time; so there may be such things as, by virtue of the divine primæval cause or original thought which called them into life, always uniformly so subsist. And so it is the same word which created the universe that holds it together and sustains it.[2] But however correct all this is, we must yet well consider,

2. That the Word of God in the old community received its high immortal significance from a wholly different side and mainly in a different connection. For the Word of God, as it was published by Moses and by prophets like him, was held from ancient times to be a high, or in a certain sense the highest, power in the actual life of the community; and in this sense it is equivalent to what is called Revelation, but it had won at an early period so high a significance that it was spoken of briefly as the Word.[3] What is to be understood by it was presupposed as already fully known; from which is seen that chiefly the ancient Revelation through Moses was understood, although gradually that of the later prophets might also be coupled with it. But as the Word of God in this sense was held in the old community as a supreme power, it became, by all who held it in high regard, honoured not merely as a power imperishable, always equally sure and clear,

[1] According to Ps. cxlvii. 15, and the striking expression "in the words of the Lord" lie "His works," with the proper addition, according to the Peshito, "and all His creations accomplish His will," Ecclus. xlii. 15. The λόγοι κυρίου or ἁγίου, xliii. 5, 10, are to be understood in harmony with such passages as B. Isa. xl. 26; the ἅγιος is at the end of the previous verse. According to Philo, there are many λόγοι as ordinary angels at the side of an archangel. *History*, vii. 215.

[2] According to the sentence ἐν λόγῳ Θεοῦ σύγκειται πάντα, Ecclus. xliii. 26, and according to another image, Heb. i. 3.

[3] The quite brief דָּבָר is found in Prov. xiii. 13, xvi. 20, in the oldest series of these Proverbs, and therefore goes back to the times of Solomon; and the transition from יְיָ דְּבַר to the mere דָּבָר is seen very plainly in Ps. lvi. 5, 11 (4, 10). Similarly in the New Testament ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ, Rev. xix. 13, passes subsequently into the mere ὁ λόγος in the writings of the Apostle John.

in relation to doctrine,[1] but also as the consolation and hope of the Faithful.[2]

The Word of God in this latter significance was reverenced as a divine power at a far earlier period than in the sense previously explained; and both usages are carefully to be distinguished and separated. But in this latter sense the significance of the Word of God assumed an ever-increasing importance during the centuries of the Hagiocracy, when Holy Scripture was placed more and more on a level with it, and became the quickening breath of all the higher life of the community.[3] It is evident that now also the idea of the Word of God in the sense first explained was more and more regarded with favour, and if it was not raised higher than the other, for that it could hardly be, it was yet expanded and brought into closest possible connection with it. Nor did this assimilation present any great difficulty if it were accepted that as precisely such impelling creative power God sent His Word to Moses and the other prophets like him, so that it was in them an immediately available, independent power for service, and they not merely discoursed as they were moved by it, but through its wonder-working aid accomplished their great and exceptional deeds. From all that can be ascertained it was some new and attractive writing, composed in the first flourishing period of the Hagiocracy and before the Greek school-wisdom became dominant, which presented anew the life

[1] The expression in B. Isa. xl. 8, cf. lv. 10 f., lix. 21, sounds indeed much stronger than those ancient expressions, Prov. xiii. 13, xvi. 20; but he who looks closely to the sense of these Proverbs will find that they betray an unusually high albeit very simple reverence for the Word of God. Similar is it with the tolerably ancient Ps. lvi. 5, 11 (4, 10).

[2] According to such expressions as Ps. lvi. 5, 11, cxix. 58, 76; essentially also, though without the usual word, Ps. xix. 9–12 (8–11).

[3] We must here transport ourselves wholly into those times when the Law (Thôra) was conceived as the eternal wisdom of God manifest upon earth, and as it were, palpably visible among men, as we see it first in Bar. iii. 35–iv. 1, and then subsequently still more in Ecclus. xxiv. 8–11, 22. The last passage shows most clearly that the representation of wisdom at which we have already glanced was in these times remodelled. Since now the portions of the Book of Baruch go back into the fourth century B.C., it is seen how very soon after Ezra's time this uplifting of the Holy Law to heaven became prevalent.

of Elijah as a prophet in this sense most celebrated, and in those days most active in mighty works, that gave to this new representation its firm basis and its hold upon the mind of the community.[1] The highest power of life which in its divine efficiency and independence could work in the old true prophets, was thus immortalized in a luminous story, and preserved for the abiding remembrance of all coming time, whilst a new conception also was founded which might lead much further, as indeed it did.

3. For subsequently, during the first splendid efflorescence of the Greek rule and the Greek school-wisdom, when the doctrine became powerfully predominant that expressions apparently too sensuous, found so often in Holy Scripture, must be softened by exposition and paraphrase, scholars made special use of this already prevalent conception of the Word of God, or as it was now called in Greek, the Logos, that by means of it such end might be attained. Where something God had done was regarded as narrated in expressions of too sensuous a kind, the interpretation was, He had done it by His Word, by Him who is executor of His in this case definite and special will, and who is continually near at hand to serve Him. Gradually the Logos of God was substituted where Holy Scripture spoke simply of God; and where the name Jahveh was used, this was done also for the special and immediate purpose of guarding the sanctity of this name.[2] All this occurred during the third and second centuries before Christ and afterwards, under the influence of delicate and over-refined Egyptian manners, through the high estimation in which the Hellenistic school in Alexandria then stood. The

[1] The words of Ecclus. xlviii. 3, 5, offer the main proof of this, for they must have proceeded from such a presentation of the life of Elijah; and this presentation was indeed the source of all the higher conceptions concerning Elijah, to which reference is made in the *History*, iv. 113.

[2] The clearest proof of this is the oldest Targum on the Pentateuch, which is ascribed to Onkelos. It is later than the LXX., but might nevertheless originate in the last century before Christ. How the Logos, translated from the Greek as מֵימְרָא דַּאֲדֹנָי, was first of all added as pure explanation of the whole discourse, the sentence "and Jahveh through the Logos shut him in," Gen. vii. 16,

custom spread from Egypt to Palestine, and reached even to Babylon also, where Greek culture under the Arsacidae, especially in particular localities, not less highly flourished. But also in the new writings of this time, the idea and name of the Logos, regarded as the highest heavenly being with God, became more and more common; with great vividness and freedom was the description of the Logos given; and with more boldness was it depicted how God works through Him for the deliverance of the Faithful and the terrifying and destruction of godless men.[1] The luminous conception of this highest heavenly being now tended to eclipse the glory of that representation, of similar character and significance, which had floated before the minds of earlier generations, viz. the image of the supreme angel;[2] how much more would it overshadow that of a cherub or similar being!

4. But this splendid pure conception of the Logos did not receive its highest significance until it was finally uplifted and transfigured with that of the heavenly Messiah, and closely connected, nay, altogether blended with it. In point of fact both ideas, after each had perfectly developed itself, could scarcely be placed in close juxtaposition, at least in the mind that inquired with longing desire after the fundamental conditions of the future Messianic salvation, without its being at once concluded that the pre-mundane Messiah conceived

shows clearly enough. Commonly it is immediately connected with the name of Jahveh, so that Gen. iii. 8 is translated, "the voice of the Logos of Jahveh." But however often "the Logos of Jahveh" stands instead of Jahveh, yet in such places where the idea of the Logos is less suitable, שְׁכִינְתָּא דְיְיָ, "the Indwelling," *i.e.* "the Presence of Jahveh," is by preference inserted, or again as its explanation, יְקָרָא דְיְיָ, "the glory of the Lord," is written, so that the language that speaks of Jahveh may not be too sensuous. The same paraphrases are found in other Targums, but their origin is to be sought in the oldest.

[1] The simplest form of expression is such as this, "The Logos stands," as a continually ready watcher, "for ever in Heaven," Ps. cxix. 89. Simple enough is also the phrase, Bar. iv. 37, v. 5. Wholly different are the pictures in Wisd. xvi. 26, and especially xviii. 15 f., where He is characterized as the Angel of Death; and yet here, xii. 9, there is also an allusion to the simpler signification as by a play on the term "word."

[2] § 218, p. 69.

as the Logos was just the personage with whom could be associated the whole yearning and faith of the most pious members of the community. Only as Logos had the pre-mundane Messiah His unquestioned position and His conceivably highest dignity with God. Nor until the pre-mundane Messiah was blended with the idea of the Logos did the Logos receive the whole fulness of His significance and destination for the entire history of the world. The complete identification of both conceptions was accomplished in the second century before Christ,[1] and it took place all the more readily since the word for the Logos both in Hebrew and Greek is masculine both in its form and sense.[2]

§ 253. These are the five co-ordinate creative powers which appear in the Bible, thus successively stepping forth in the course of the development of the true religion and its community in the nation of Israel. If in one or another of these representations anything is found which is suggestive of heathen myths, nevertheless it is clear how entirely remote in their essential character they are from such myths. Indeed, it is self-evident that these five representations are of purely Israelitish origin; and so far as the progress of the great development of all true religion demanded it, they were developed in Israel itself. For the sole foreign influence already described, viz. the scrupulous carefulness of the Greek school-wisdom to soften the often apparently too sensuous phraseology of the Old Testament concerning God, remained even until the establishment of Christianity in the world purely a matter of school-wisdom, and penetrated neither into the popular speech, nor into the circle of the higher prophetic and poetic thought; and this is shown

[1] The proof of this rests upon a number of concurrent indications and testimonies which will be more appropriately introduced in the subsequent discussion concerning the doctrine of Christ.

[2] The Hebrew דָּבָר and the Greek Logos are very different from the Latin *verbum* on the one hand, or the German *wort* on the other. On this ground the Greek ῥῆμα, in this sense, was always less preferred. In German, however, we might say *der wort* in the higher sense, as we distinguish *der verdienst* from *das verdienst*.

clearly enough by the New Testament, and all the remains of the other writings of the time which we possess.[1] For the ultimate blending of the idea of the Logos with that of the Messiah as Son of God has no connection with the over-refinement of the wisdom of the Hellenistic schools, and took place altogether apart from its action and influence.

If now the truth from which the representation of these five co-ordinate creative powers originated has its abiding significance, these separate truths were not of such a kind that they must continue to stand merely side by side, or that they did actually remain thus isolated and apart, and are so to be contemplated by us. They arose, indeed, only in connection with all the other irrefragable fundamental truths of the community, and therefore they were not opposed to each other, and could never be absolutely and rigidly kept apart. How the second, "the Man of God," without losing its peculiar truth received its higher completion only from the fourth, "the Son of God," and this also was at last fully blended with the fifth, "the Logos or Word of God," we have already remarked. Whilst these three were thus closely connected with each other, the first and the third, that is, "the Spirit of God" and the "Wisdom of God," were also associated the more directly, so far as they contained the eternal doctrine that behind all the visible universe stand the Spirit of God and the ever-unchanging divine wisdom. Nevertheless, so far as this wisdom is here contemplated, not merely as something passive and discoverable by human perception, but mainly as a power of creative activity, that is, as finding

[1] It was apparently Philo who, in his rather learned than popular writings, made the phrases concerning the Logos familiar; but that the idea of the Logos was prevalent long before his time, and that he did not borrow it from the Greek philosophers, is shown in the *History*, vii. 214–218. For the Greek philosophers after the time of the obscure Herakleitos used the term in the sense of a higher spiritual power, it is true; but the Stoics who employed it most frequently understood by it nothing but *reason*. The coincidence of the names may have pleased Philo; but that the Logos came into the ancient nation of Israel only from the Greeks, and has the same significance with the Hebrews as the Greeks, is an opinion of modern writers which is just as foolish as it is incorrect.

its proper work in forming the universe with God, and according to God's own wisdom, it is to be conceived in this activity as only a special aspect of the universal Spirit of God,[1] and may thus be included in the same conception. Accordingly all five co-ordinate creative powers may be simplified into two, the Son of God and the Spirit of God. Of what importance this is we shall subsequently see in the discussion of the doctrine of the Trinity of the true God.[2]

X. THE WORLD OF MANKIND AND ITS DIVINE AIM.

§ 254. At this point, however, it is the distinction which obtains between these two supreme creative powers thus apprehended and specialized that we must note more particularly, since it will lead us, on this question, a great step forward. Now the efficacy of the Spirit of God being most essential in all creation, working even in the midst of Chaos, such efficacy has a direct bearing upon the whole mystery of every kind of creation. It is quite otherwise with the second great creative power. Whatever relation the first may have to the rest of the creation, certainly the primary man, whether incomplete or perfect and coequal with the Word of God, has his relation immediately to the world of mankind, and his highest significance only through the peculiar significance of such human world. The idea and whole conception of this power, as presented in the Bible with all vividness before our view, with all that it otherwise contains of similar meaning and experience, thus urge us imperatively to take into close

[1] So Isa. xi. 2 ; the spirit of wisdom is only a special aspect and activity of the whole Spirit of the Messiah.

[2] [The importance of this whole discussion is recognised by Dorner in his *System of Christian Doctrine*, vol. iii. p. 154 f., where, at the close of a chapter aiming to show how in relation to the doctrine of Christ the way is prepared for the revelation of the New Testament by the Old, he appends a note, extending over a page and a quarter, giving a summary of such sections of this chapter as trace the origin and development of the Biblical idea of the Son of God.—Tr.]

and accurate consideration this world of mankind in its whole speciality, and in its connection also with all other worlds of existence and life. It is indeed our primary object to know and understand exactly and surely the world of mankind in its relation to God and His will; just as this forms the chief scope and, as we may say, ultimate aim of the whole Bible itself.

In the series of worlds which we can distinguish, and whose succession only makes up the universe as a whole, the world that now exists is, according to the Bible, the world of mankind. But as each portion of the world, even the smallest, corresponds to a divine thought, and its purpose can be adequately recognised only in the divine purpose, so must each of the worlds, and in the series of them the human world also, correspond to a creative thought and thence to a purpose of God, while their succession also must answer to the supreme creative thought and the last great end and aim of God as Creator. Only in this connection, comprehending everything in itself, can the peculiar relation of the human world be sufficiently evident. If already this has been explained in general terms, we have now to follow out the subject into details, and for this end to employ whatever is serviceable for our discussion, scattered though it be throughout the entire compass of the Bible. For the separate narratives of creation and the distinct creative and divine thoughts have their primary significance just in relation to this aim, because the mind, if it rises up to the contemplation of the origin of things, must at the same time consider their whole nature with all its possible changes; nor can there be any sound discourse concerning the temporal beginning of things if there is not clearly before the view the corresponding end as well. We must therefore ascertain how far the whole of the remaining contents of the Bible supply comment and confirmation to that which is so briefly and vigorously condensed in its opening chapters.

§ 255. Entering, therefore, in this place upon the full

and complete discussion of *the divine aim of the whole universe and its realization*, in the sense and to the extent indicated, we enter upon the most important part of this whole section concerning the world. Not the less are we conscious that we enter also upon the highest and most difficult question which the Bible, in its whole compass and extent, calls upon us to consider. For we have to do with the infinite details we can recognise in the present world, or may ascertain with respect to the earlier and the future world, and to bring them into their proper relation and coherence; and all the principal matters affecting man, which are subsequently to be specially dealt with in the following sections, must also be discussed here in their great connection with all the rest of the world. The subject is, however, in its details something so infinite that the Bible only touches the fringe of it; whilst it places before our eyes, with the highest completeness and sufficiency, all that concerns God Himself and has an obvious coherence by means of His unity and truth. Indeed, the temporal origin and character of the Bible involve the presentation, with the utmost fulness that could be desired, of everything which immediately relates to God, because rightly to know Him first of all, and securely to possess Him as the highest good, was the most powerful aspiration of the community from the time of Moses; whilst the more definite knowledge of all the infinite details of the universe was very imperfect in the whole of antiquity, as, to be sure, it is still defective enough, and until the last few centuries has made no far-extended progress. Nevertheless, if care be taken to ascertain the views concerning the universe found here and there in the Bible, it is not at all impossible to base upon them a sufficiently connected summary of the true ideas upon the subject.

But in order to pass under review in its proper connection everything relevant to this inquiry, the first and most necessary thing is well to comprehend how there lies in the recognisable ultimate divine aim of the universe a plurality

of worlds, and a succession of different worlds corresponding to that aim, and how these different worlds actually exist, as well as for what end their succession is to be conceived as just what it is. Thus there opens to our contemplation the picture of a history which is the history of all histories, that history which, devised and commenced by God Himself, remains for ever in His hand alone, in which we daily, nay, every moment, can clearly enough feel ourselves living, and whose beginning and end, by sufficiently definite indications, we are able to surmise, but still only to surmise. For history is seen wherever we see forces that may be distinguished coming into such contiguity and such conflict with each other that out of the strife something new proceeds. In the universe, however, so far as we know it in the present and can trace it back into the whole past, we observe different forces of this kind, and among them a conflict of longer or shorter duration, out of which issues some ever new phenomenon and growth. All this may be brought under the idea of disturbance in its widest acceptation; as its type and example may be regarded that disturbance which, in the second narrative of creation, is brought before our notice in the life of the primary man in Paradise. But while the same divine creative energy which gave rise to the different forces and makes possible that disturbance works onward by anticipation in the least as in the greatest affairs through this very conflict to the proper solution of the problem, those progressive movements in this divine history take place which as in each particular world, nay, in every portion of the special worlds, so in the long-run lead on to the realization of the ultimate aim of the whole universe, as the Bible suggests.

Of this subject, as it stands forth to our contemplation, and is yet inexhaustible by any contemplation, these are the three stages which we have to discuss, following the suggestions and declarations of the Bible. As all human knowledge of God Himself is, as we have seen, limited in many ways, and the Bible enables us only to catch a sure glimpse of this

unfathomable mystery, so the universe shows itself to be the veritable work of God, in that we can only begin properly to grasp it in its immeasurable greatness and sublimity as its infinite details are considered. But concerning its divine aim we may, according to the Bible, form an estimate; and it is only of this that we here speak. Meanwhile the higher language of the Bible, the more delicate and finished it becomes, can comprehend and include, with the greater facility, in three concise intuitions and sentences, all the innumerable contents which are involved in the three principal stages of the whole relation of the universe to God. "Everything," and therefore the whole universe, with all its incalculable details, is "from God, through God, and unto God."[1] We shall now see more particularly how, in the above-mentioned history of all histories, these three propositions exactly coincide with its three all-comprehensive changes, which we must here distinguish, and which find here their full exposition.

§ 256. The divine aim of the universe, everywhere implied, if nowhere definitely stated in the Bible, is the diffusion of the divine happiness, and especially by the unfolding of the divine nature and glory. But as the creature can share in the happiness of the Creator, not directly and absolutely, but only by a gradual experience and perception of it, and an ultimate practical participation in it, it follows that the purpose of creation can be attained only through a succession of different worlds.[2] For if He who possesses all blessedness in Himself nevertheless desires that an infinite number of His creatures should participate in it, we may well suppose He will on this account form a series of worlds one after another, because only through their succession, by gradual stages, is to be prepared and found the possibility of the existence and life of an infinite number of individual creatures who are

[1] Rom. xi. 36.

[2] [Ewald evidently means by the series and succession of worlds what are usually called the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms, and he makes the human world as, according to Scripture, the last and highest.]

capable of participating more intimately in the divine blessedness. But just as well may we suppose, at the same time, that there are also different degrees of participation in this blessedness in the largest sense, and the possibility of these degrees is found in the series of great creations which we call the worlds, and whose conceivable number and succession only constitute the whole universe. For the question of this possibility depends upon what is to be understood by the blessedness which the creature may enjoy in accordance with the divine will, and which must have in it something of the divine blessedness without being on a level with it.

As a portion or element of this blessedness may be reckoned joy, the simple and pure feeling of the pleasure of one's own existence and work, which need not be so troubled and mixed as it so often is among men from causes presently to be discussed. The Bible takes it as self-evident that God Himself can rejoice in all His works, and to this it makes no exception.[1] Man also may rejoice in things he combines and contrives by art, and thus creates, for the materials themselves he cannot create. But God's creation extends to the very materials themselves, which He forms and vivifies in order to constitute a world. Now if God so far rejoices in all His works, how shall not they also rejoice, albeit in a very different degree, as their nature befits? That which is purely dead and remains so God does not create; rather is everything "good" which He creates; but what is essentially good is from God Himself, and rejoices in its own existence. Higher yet is the joy which the creature derives from the knowledge of the goodness and glory of God. Such a joy as that which thrilled the spirit of Joseph's brethren when, at the close of a long and most changeful life-development, they were born again, so to speak, by the conviction of their own guilt, and the full and ultimate realization of the infinitely greater grace of God.[2] Or such as that which filled

[1] Ps. civ. 31. [2] Gen. l. 15-21.

the heart of the patient Job when, at the end of all his sufferings, he became vividly conscious that the whole character of God was incomparably more profound and just than he had ever previously imagined.[1] Such examples, indeed, running back into the earlier times, may well give to us the clearest and most graphic pictures of this joy. Still higher, and from all we can discover highest of all, stand the joy and blessedness which lie in one's own participation in the work of God Himself, and in divine creations, as is supposed possible by the opening of the second narrative of creation: a joy and blessedness capable of rising to such lofty height that it is represented briefly, just at the time when the whole revelation of antiquity reached its climax, as the very highest which can be conceived or hoped for.[2] Is it indeed really the divine happiness and joy that, without let or hindrance and with mighty power, break radiantly upon men in all the highest moments of the purest revelation and of the most favoured progress in the divinely-human life, of which we read in the Bible? then do such visitations of divine joy lead also to the most courageous inception and successful undertaking of new kinds of divine work among mankind. And to what a high level these works are capable of rising, if only one considers the sphere in which they move and the spirit and power they express! But to such possible elevation the Bible, purely historically, points with sufficient emphasis when it shows us how such beginnings return with every great moment of the kind, and how their power and significance progressively advance to the climax in that highest example the Bible records, viz. the certain firm beginnings of the Christian community upon earth.[3]

[1] Job xlii. 10–17.

[2] Nowhere in the Bible is this made in all brevity so conspicuous as in John v. 20, 36, vi. 27 ff., x. 32, xiv. 10 f., and similar passages.

[3] To give here only some of the chief instances. If we go from Ex. xix.–xxiv. to Ps. xviii., from there to Ps. xlvi., xlviii., and all that belong to them, from these to B. Isa. xl.–lxvi., and thence to the New Testament, whose most important example in the formation of the Christian Church the *History*, vii. 107 f., discusses, sufficient proof of what is said above will be afforded.

If now according to such preliminary reasons we can think of a succession of different worlds, the oldest history of creation meets us with its due importance. But as this history, so far as it relates to the mere succession of worlds, did not arise without the influence of old experiences and investigations of the things themselves, so it is not without significance likewise that the observations which have been made by the assiduous diligence of learned inquirers during the subsequent three thousand years are in agreement with the history, at least in that which is here of the greatest moment. And indeed the much later second history of creation in the Bible does not show any divergence in these final fundamental intuitions concerning the stages of the great creations. What is most essential in it in this respect, and what is at the same time the oldest, it is however not so difficult to see.

§ 257. Nevertheless, as we go into detail, there is nothing more remarkable than that one world is always the basis upon which alone the successor can arise and develop itself, and in this aspect the successor is always the more delicate, the more animated, and having more of mind in it. Each world, without overstepping the general laws of all worlds, as of creation conditioned by God, has nevertheless a nature and life of its own, and forms, with all its infinite divisibility, a distinct and separate whole. But no world fully perishes again, leaving behind mere ruins for the upbuilding of its successor; each becomes in its necessary rank and stage the basis for the admission of what follows. Since now the course of progress moves on to what is more and more delicate and animated, and has more of mind in it, it is as if the Creator had created that which is furthest removed from Him as Spirit, chiefly that from this distance He might call into their existence and their destiny creatures more nearly allied to Him, who, as if returning from thence, more and more should by successive stages come back to Him. In this way what has been already mentioned might very

well take place, viz. the earlier world would always form the necessary ground for the existence of its successor. But from all this it does not follow that in such succession the present world must be the last; indeed, we shall rather find reasons enough further on for confirming more particularly the divine necessity, presupposed in the Bible, of a progress in this stage.

But what a purely wonderful progress is there in the detail, where all human caprice or art is excluded, and only the eternal thoughts and activity of God Himself are to be noted, as the Bible sketches them for us in a few strokes!

1. The world of original materials, *i.e.* such materials as are not first produced by means of succeeding creations, is the basis of all that follows, so that without it none of the succeeding worlds could arise, find its home, and develop itself. So far as it can be known only through existing creations, and in so far as it subsisted without the order apparently peculiar to the present universe, the oldest intuition found, in this world of original materials, Chaos. But although the Bible in the outset concedes a prominent place to this idea, subsequently more and more definitely it withdraws itself from it. Rather is the original world, the present universe in its unalterably-firm constituent parts, its groundwork and its laws, with just the elimination of all that succeeding worlds demanded for their existence, or themselves produced. All the succeeding creations have their materials out of it, and it is as if a new spirit from God always called them into existence and sustained them, the ultimate basis of creation being without spirit. And yet this is not possible, as also the Bible from the beginning to its very last portion indicates.[1] Still, on account of its immeasurable vastness, the world of original materials, in its peculiar life and its whole

[1] According to such words as Ps. ciii. 22; Rev. v. 13; cf. § 223 (2), (3), p. 76. Such words are no mere phrases without sense, even if their meaning is not more definitely fixed by the poets, and if still less the picturings of the Book of Enoch, lxxii.–lxxx., can be accepted as scientific descriptions.

constitution and coherence through such life, is not yet known by man even to-day.[1]

2. But if a peculiar life may and must be ascribed to this world, in the fullest sense of the term to be designated "original," yet it is only a very simple life in comparison with all the rest of the principal creations that have their possibility, the one after and beyond the other, only in the firm basis it affords. To these subsequent creations a double life belongs, one determined by the original materials of which they are composed and through which they live, and another by the special energy which first called them into life and assigned to them their destiny. It is the creation of individual life which here comes into view, of individual life in its infinitude in space and time, in kind and power, and thence in growth, and, since in the course of time the infinitude grows, in increase and multiplication also through continually new births, each according to its kind and its energy.[2] But all this individual life becomes possible only through the senses as the impulse and instrument of the special life and endeavour of every kind, and of every individual in its kind; so that one may designate this whole creation, in opposition to the first, as the sense-creation. The senses are the medium by which is effected the movement of individual life with its double energy; and where there is free self-movement there is joy. As all this, however, both in kind and energy, is infinitely diversified, there arises here first of all, as a special world upon the earth, a creation standing nearest to the original materials, yet still of rather

[1] This is not the place to say more than this. The labours of great students of physical science during the last three centuries may be regarded with admiration, without our really supposing that, generally speaking, anything has been won save some firm positions from which further and still more difficult investigations may be pursued.

[2] To the infinitude of the kinds (genera and species) of individual life and their enduring persistence, the phrase, Gen. i. 21, repeated in vers. 24, 25, emphatically points. But in closest connection with this the divine blessing of fruitfulness, Gen. i. 22, 28, becomes conspicuous, and is omitted in ver. 25 only because it is self-evident from previous examples and from the following example.

limited "sense," viz. the vegetable kingdom. Upon the basis of this, the world of animals can arise and develop itself, and find maintenance; whilst as first in this kingdom the oldest narrative of creation in the Bible places water animals.

3. The world of mankind is separated in direct progress from all the animal world, and is so wholly peculiar that even to man himself it may very well be obscure enough how such world in this ascending scale of creation is distinguished from all the rest, whilst to us everything depends here upon the proper perception of this distinction. It is true that in point of time it is the most recent world. This, indeed, is a world-old and correct judgment, which, according to the observations of the wise men of ancient days, stood as firmly as the oldest story of creation in the Bible maintains it,[1] and to which all the most diligent investigations of learned men in our day come back.[2] But that this creation in opposition to all that preceded it, according to its peculiar nature and also in relation to its destiny, is designated most properly both in itself and according to the Bible as the *creation of will*, is a proposition which in this place must be further established.

§ 258. In what respects man, as one of the creations of God and as forming a world by himself, has advantage over all the rest of creation, is indicated briefly in the narratives of creation, but in quite other passages of the Bible is touched upon, incidentally no doubt, yet possibly with much more of vivid and original force. For in those narratives the chief object was to distinguish by the very briefest marks, according to a fulness of knowledge long since established, the peculiar nature of man in comparison with the rest of the creation; but with how much more of original freshness and force is manifest in the eighth Psalm, for example, the deep conscious-

[1] The apparent deviation of the later narrative of creation, Gen. ii. 7–24, is explained in § 249, pp. 124–129.

[2] More closely to pursue this subject would not here be relevant. Suffice it to say that no scientific investigation of our day has in any instance established that new animals appear in the creation *after* man's appearance.

ness of what man is in the circle of the whole universe, and how incomparably richer are the expressions here, notwithstanding the brevity of the discourse! From a purely historical point of view, indeed, the image sketched in this Psalm might be regarded as older than the oldest story of creation, and its conception of man's original glory as the model of that, as we have it, in Genesis.[1] Yet, on the other hand, as to time, the narrative cannot be much more recent than the Psalm, and falls in those days of the splendid elevation of the people of Israel which start from the period of David's youth. But we must here take into consideration all that the Bible contains of similar import and spirit.

1. This Psalm, however, we may nevertheless most appropriately make our starting-point, not simply because it gives us the oldest utterance of the Bible on the subject, but also because it expresses with the sharpest antithesis, and so in the clearest mode, what man is in his essential glory as a pure creature of God. For in point of fact the contradiction we perceive in man is the more indisputable the more closely we contemplate him, and indeed is the most pronounced and complete as well as the most profound that we can observe in any creature. On the one hand, man is not merely as frail and perishable as the rest of the earthly existences in whose midst he moves; he is also more feeble and corrupt, as we may say, because of sin. Compared with the celestial creations of God, the splendid image of whose unchanging power and glory the heavens reflect with their glittering throng of wondrous stars, great and small,[2] how weak, how

[1] Between the words in Ps. viii. 4-8 and those of Gen. i. 26, 28, there is a clearly recognisable affinity of sense which cannot be accidental; but just as easy is it to mark that the advantage of originality lies purely on the side of the song; and this fully confirms the otherwise perceptible traces of age in both pieces.

[2] The question why in Ps. viii. 3 the sun is not mentioned as well as moon and stars is answered by the song being intended without doubt originally to serve as a community or church song, most probably for a festival at the new moon or full moon. *Antiquities*, 349 ff. In the later repetition in Job xxv. 5, the moon is represented in a genuine astronomical way as below, the stars (with the sun) as in the upper heaven.

marred, how evanescent is man! On the other hand, when his inner mysterious nature is considered, and his position of lordship over all other individual existences, how far in his marvellous strength and glory does he excel all earthly creatures, how manifestly is he without a peer! Moreover, in his deepest thought and most hidden experience and life he feels himself touched and visited, invisibly no doubt, but still perceptibly and powerfully touched and visited by God Himself. Never in spirit is he left altogether isolated and alone; always at the right moment is he sought out, questioned, counselled, directed, and rewarded by Him as by a familiar friend [1] and companion. He, the feeblest of beings, is graciously favoured by the most mighty, the mortal by the immortal and eternal, the solitary creature of earth by the great Creator of the universe! This ceaseless living intercommunion between God and man whereby, whether he desires it or not, man feels himself sought out and visited by God, as if there were necessarily between them a wholly other relation than between God and any other earthly creature, is, as the poet most truly realizes, man's unique and pre-eminent distinction, of which there is no trace, not even the least, in all the experience of all other earthly existences. But it is this very distinction, and all that is connected with it, that determines man's relation to what is above him and beneath him. God has honoured him by creation itself with a spiritual communion with Him such as obtains in the case of no other earthly creature. He has thereby assigned to him a power and dominion in the world such as no other creature enjoys. He has made him, on the one hand, only a little lower [2] in glory

[1] The image in Ps. viii. 4 is derived from that of a friend who never wholly forgets his friend, but always thinks of him at the right time or visits him, even with gifts and good things, as Gen. xxi. 1; Ps. lxv. 9. Subsequently this image, applied in a different way, is repeated in Job vii. 17 ff.

[2] According to the usage of words in this song the Elôhim must not be regarded as Jahveh; therefore since they must be beings whose nature is determined by the connection of the passage, and not as Jahveh incomparable with man in degree of elevation, but comparable, they are high angels. If man,

and power than the gods,[1] *i.e.* the highest angels; on the other, He has appointed him the fully competent ruler over all visible things, and entrusted to him the highest functions which can be entrusted to any creature. For not only is he honoured with lordship over inanimate things of the world which may be appropriated and employed at pleasure; he has also lordship over that which has a life of its own, neither to be created nor employed at man's mere will.[2] Indeed, it must be acknowledged that it would scarcely be possible in all brevity more strikingly or exhaustively to characterize man's chief distinction as a creature above all others than in the words of this old church-song.

But yet more important is it that thus the antithesis itself in which the phenomenon of man consists is placed in a clear and definite light, and thereby the enigma as to what man ultimately is, and how this apparent contradiction may be solved, are impressively set forth. Just as important is it that the discourse, presenting so luminously the antithesis of the greatest humiliation and feebleness and the highest glory and power meeting so strangely in this creature, is able at the same time to show that the antithesis is not accidental, occasional, or transient, but essentially belongs to man, and remains always and uniformly the same. For, as is appropriate in a poet, the language shows this not as a narrative would by means of a sentence briefly describing man in his origin or nature, but by a single phenomenon belonging to the race which offers an example of this same antithesis in the highest form and of perpetual occurrence. In feeble, helpless humanity, what is there more feeble and helpless than a child? But where is to be seen also more emphati-

however, is here regarded as subordinate, although only a little, to angels, but in the New Testament is placed rather on a level with them, this is explained by the effect of the advent of Christ, § 226, p. 78 f.; and yet angel-worship is not favoured in this Psalm in ver. 6, nor demanded by it.

[1] § 230, p. 90, note 4.

[2] For in the highest degree significantly the "works" or "creations of God (Ps. viii. 6*a*) made conspicuous are living creatures, and thence the highest here conceivable.

cally and obviously what a powerful spring of supreme joy and glory lies in man than in the simple-hearted, pure serenity and joy of the child, innocent and without fear, especially as it begins to think and to speak? Here the greatest weakness and the highest blessedness and joy show themselves for ever present at the point where humanity is purest and most original,[1] and where the peculiar impulse and characteristic of the divine creation tends once more to return anew in the creature.

The same song, with its wonderfully sublime and concise contents, also suggests that, conformably to the original creation and the will of the Creator, the better side in this antithesis always conquers at last. That such a creature exists, carrying in itself the most wonderful glory even in its smallest and feeblest form, and able to vie with the highest heavenly powers, this indeed speaks most loudly the praise of the Creator Himself. But that the order of creation rests upon such a basis, that in the feeble lisping of innocent and joyful children God has founded the strongest defence against the loud, wild rage of men, and is for ever reanimating the whole world by man himself as a creature appointed to such glorious destiny, all this, according to our song, fills the earth with the glory of God in a way not inferior to that with which heaven is filled with the same glory. Thus this song exults in higher tones, and praises God with rarer fervour as it discloses the original and essential nature of man as a creature of God, a nature never wholly forfeited and lost. But whence that antithesis comes, with the profound contemplation of which the whole song starts, and which must unquestionably be connected in some way with the opposite and contrasted

[1] Or as is commonly said, by a word of Latin origin, "most natural," or, still from the Latin, "most naive." This short Psalm belongs to a class of passages in the Old Testament which we cannot with sufficient exactness understand in their original and thence inexhaustible import. It falls into three strophes, each of eight half lines, with the refrain at the close. In the *Commentary on the Psalms*, for "causest him to have dominion," read "causedst." *Lehrbuch*, 250*c*.

phenomenon incidentally touched upon, viz. that of men degenerated into enemies of God, this is not evident, manifestly because it did not belong to the design of this song to show it.

§ 259. 2. The oldest narrative of creation which we now possess in the Old Testament, derives therefore a chief feature of its characterization of the original glory and divine determination of man from the fulness of thought with which this ancient song began to mark the true nature of man: but as a narrative it prefers to base the distinction of man from all other creatures upon a very simple quality. The Book of Origins, to which this portion of narrative belongs, would be expected from its very nature to present no more distinct conception than that of man, in the gradual progress of the origin of things, and of all living creatures, as the son of God, and to assign to him his place in the ascending order. It is true that inasmuch as the representation of the creation of man is raised in this Book of Origins to a peculiar height, this idea of a son of God is expressed in the somewhat rare formulary, Adam was made in the image of God. But the son, the true and real son, bears just the Father's likeness, and in this sense the narrative itself afterwards on the first suitable occasion expounds the meaning of the phrase.[1] What is peculiar to man is accordingly this, that as no other creature he stands to God as son to Father; and no image can express so briefly and so strikingly the whole intimate relation

[1] Compare the words "Adam begat in his own likeness, after his image," Gen. v. 3, with the corresponding Gen. i. 26, 27, v. 1, and it is seen from the connection that they are intended to signify nothing but "he begat a son," and that the expression takes this form because the earlier passages furnished the immediate precedent for it. (Gen. v. 28 is different, and is the remodelling of the Fifth Narrator.) If the words are taken in the sense that Adam's son was born having a likeness to his father, and therefore bearing the divine image, the wider meaning of the phrase will not be exceeded, but something will be put into the words which they express plainly enough only by comparison. Thus, however, all further questions as to how the divine likeness of Adam or all men is to be understood fall to the ground; however early these questions arose without any perception of the right answer beforehand, and however differently they were answered, there was not in the narrative any ground or reason for raising them. How the phrase was subsequently understood will be touched upon below in relation to Christ.

in which man may and ought to stand toward God. If, however, this image was in the ancient world somewhat ambiguous, and could readily be understood in that lower heathen sense, which is sufficiently familiar from heathen mythology and hero-worship, all possible ambiguity and all perverse employment of the image must be fully lost in connection with the true religion and the idea of the true God. When once the full idea of the true God is vividly present to the mind, every one will feel that the conception of man as the son of God is only a different image of a similar kind to that by which, according to the suggestion of the song just expounded, God is conceived as the one great invisible and unparalleled Friend of man.

But certainly this image of man as the son of God implies in all brevity incomparably more, and is far more suggestive than that, whose meaning gleams forth only in particular phrases. Nearer than friend, more inseparable in love, but also, if need be, more severe, is the father to the son; and by far more familiar, trustful, and docile than towards the friend should the son be to the father. What then must the term signify when employed in its highest conceivable and spiritual sense! An incalculably broad and high realm opens to us here in the historical gradations and manifoldness of all that is human. Since this image, as the previous one, is intended in the sense of the narrative to characterize only the original nature of man in his relation to God, it is evident that the question is ever arising how far the image fits any particular man in his historical appearing and significance. If the first man is so conceived, it is only because as the first man he represents human nature and its divine determination in a pure and wholly undegenerate form. But the spirit of the true religion, as it found its home in old times through Moses in the community of Israel, had an insurmountable antipathy to characterizing by such figure any of the common historical men who, with their excellences and defects, were known in daily experience.

No doubt for the whole nation itself, as it was charged to re-establish under Moses in its community the original glory and divine determination of mankind, the use of this conception in the higher discourse was revived. A great prophet once depicted in his sublime image how Jahveh found His Israel helpless in the desert, and took the nation as His son into His fatherly love.[1] Still further, in the higher discourse and in relation to a possible number of nations at present worthy of it, the genuine sense of the name son of God was by degrees very appropriately so restored that mankind, grouped together in each of such nations, was conceived as a son of God, Israel in such connection being regarded as His First-born.[2] Moreover, the great prophets also never failed, in their admonitions and reproofs, to remind the members of the community that since their establishment under Moses as a community, they were and should be sons of God.[3] But from a deep dread of confounding the divine and the human, inborn in this community, the individual man was regarded rather as simply the creature of the hand of God.[4] Only as experience taught most powerfully how far the actual living members of the community had swerved from the ideal demanded by this conception, and how necessary it was that at last One should wholly realize it in Himself, did the name receive its most effective significance, as in the Messianic expectations, and especially their fulfilment by Christ.

A genuine instance of this old fear of too great a profanation of this name is found in the Book of Origins. In that primæval hour of man's creation, as if a resolve were formed

[1] We see this indeed in the fragments remaining in Hosea's brief words, ix. 10, xi. 1. Without such a precedent also the representation in Ex. iv. 22 f. would not have been possible; and moreover, in such delineations as Ezek. xvi. 23, the obvious traces of it are preserved.

[2] Ex. iv. 22.

[3] In such cases as Isa. i. 2 ff., xxx. 1 ff., Deut. xxxii. 5 ff., of the severer kind, and Deut. xiv. 1 of the milder type, there reproving, here admonishing; it is, however, consonant to the spirit of the Deuteronomist that the milder reference prevails with him.

[4] In such thoughts as Job x. 8–17; Ps. cxxxix. 13–16.

in solemn council,[1] God is made to say, not "let us create a man as our son," but "let us make man in our image," the utmost meant thereby being merely having such resemblance to God Himself as is possible. The nature of man being in such words sufficiently marked, it is only needful to add, in the words of the Eighth Psalm, the employment man is to have on earth, corresponding to this nature and the divine destination. As the father constitutes the son his representative, so is man to exercise the dominion transferred to him by God over all the lower creatures of the earth.

§ 260. 3. The older narrative of creation thus explains the nature of man wholly from the relation of special kinship in which he should stand to God. Springing from the vivid consciousness of the race in the earlier antiquity, the representation in so far borders closely upon conceptions current among the heathen, such as Paul used so aptly at Athens.[2] It is simple because it is primitive. But just on this account it cannot, nor does it, pretend to solve the problem that lies before us.

The later narrative goes beyond this simplicity, and by a twofold distinction gives to man in his creation his peculiarity as a creature of God. "God formed the earthly one, *i.e.* man, from the dust of the earth, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; so man became a living soul." In these words there is the sharp distinction of the two different constituent elements, blended together nevertheless into a solid unity, by which alone man is precisely what he is as a definite living creature. Overlooking for a moment his peculiar spirit, man is formed, as all other life, out of earthly

[1] On the Christian side the artificial and ultimately perverse interpretation of the plural in the word of resolve, "let us make," is found first in Clemens Romanus, xvi. 11 ff.; it has a wholly Philonic colour.

[2] Acts xvii. 28 f. It might be supposed such late poets as Callimachus, Aratus, Ovid, had in such thoughts the splendid commencement of the Bible (Gen. i.) before their eyes. But already Homer's πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε and the ὁμόθεν γεγάασι θεοὶ θνητοί τ' ἄνθρωποι of Hesiod's *Works and Days*, 108 ff., proceeded from a similar intuition. On the contrary, Ovid's *et quod dominari in cetera posset*, *Metam.* i. 77, no doubt points us to the LXX.

materials, and is weak, frail, and mortal as the Eighth Psalm in its way had already pointed out. Just this side of man, however, our narrative makes the more conspicuous, the more definitely it seeks to explain, in its further course, the weak side of the primitive man.[1] Moreover, the most ancient genuinely Hebrew word for man, the name Adam, gave to the narrator the better ground for this the more certainly it signifies originally the earthly in opposition to the heavenly.[2] Let not man, mindful of his origin, exalt himself! this admonition runs as an undertone through the whole narrative. But that which is immortal in man becomes thus the more clearly and distinctly conspicuous. For that God Himself breathes into him the breath of life, communicates to him therefore immediately something of His own Spirit, this in the sense and plan of the whole narrative can only be a reference to the purely divine and immortal element in him, to show in what he is distinguished from all other living creatures.[3]

[1] The words in Gen. ii. 7*a* must be compared with the words in iii. 19, that is, the beginning of the narrative with the end. But just as important is it that the narrator in ii. 19 speaks of all the beasts as formed "from the earth," but he does not also, as in the case of man, point at the end as well as at the beginning to the "dust."

[2] אָדָם מִן הָאֲדָמָה, Gen. ii. 7. This Fourth Narrative, however, is in general fond of such verbal expositions, as is remarked in the *History*, i. 20, iv. 200. Now הָאֲדָמָה, as the soil capable of being tilled, may indicate, according to its name, "red" earth; but that man as the "red" creature is so named is the more improbable since the word does not at all mark any opposition to white or black man, but signifies man in general. Adam, as a shortened form, may therefore signify the "earthly" one; as אֱנוֹשׁ, derived from another Semitic dialect; cf. *Revelation; its Nature and Record*, 16 note, and as the Indo-Persian word, corresponding to βροτός, opposes man as mortal to the immortal; and *homo* if from *humus* belongs to the same category.

[3] It is self-evident that the words in Gen. ii. 7*b* must be taken in conjunction with those concerning the creation of "beasts of the field" in ii. 19, where the life of the beasts thus created is in no way so explained. For it is apparent in this way that the narrator does not wish at all by that characteristic to indicate the mere possession of life in the case of man formed from the earth. A similar remark was made above concerning the presence or absence of the word "dust" in this portion of the narrative; and in such a piece of composition, not written in flowing and redundant phrase, the presence or absence of every word is of striking significance.

The best narrative is usually the briefest; and this narrator no longer moves amid the copious exuberance of phraseology which marks the Book of Origins. But in these two characteristics he has nevertheless hit upon the essential distinction of man from the beginning. According to the drift and scope of this brief description, especially its last emphatic words, the two constituent elements, earthly matter and divine spirit, not loosely thrown together, but in complete interpenetration and combined working, make man as we find him. In outward appearance man is earth and dust, and dying must become earth and dust again. The narrative gives prominence to this at the close,[1] because its aim is to present with conspicuous emphasis the particular side of human nature which in the confidence and success of life is so easily overlooked. There was a time in the long changeful experience of the free and independent nation of Israel when this graver side of human nature and life had to be the more earnestly regarded;[2] in such a time falls this narrative as it is here shaped, and may serve for perpetual admonition. But our narrator does not on this account overlook or deny the other side of human nature, the purely divine, in which man's distinguishing peculiarity over all other creatures lies. He allows rather this other side to be conspicuous and manifest so far as it is necessary to his aim and plan in the narrative. Between man and God, as his whole description sets forth, there was at that time familiar intercourse, as familiar as that between the nearest relatives,[3] or, as we should rather say, between father and son. In harmony with the peculiar fundamental thought of the whole narrative, man is conceived as, prior to his fall and in his purest and most original deter-

[1] Gen. iii. 19.

[2] It was the long stern time of penitence to which belong Ps. xc. and xlix. and similar compositions, and out of the midst of which the prophet Hosea spoke. No one in the New Testament has so profoundly recognised this contrariety and discord in our nature, nor so triumphantly risen above it after painfully realizing it, as the Apostle Paul, Rom. vii. 7–25.

[3] *Homini cognatum coelum*, says Ovid in that passage already pointed out as worthy of note, *Metam.* i. 81.

mination, the man of God; and the reference to the spirit of life breathed into him as into no other individual existence by God Himself, is meant without doubt to mark the purely heavenly side of his nature, as the origin from the dust marks the earthly.

These accounts of the creation of man must be said therefore to start from the same apparent duality of original nature, or rather from the same observable two different sides of it which are to be inferred and understood from all other portions of the Bible. The narrative may be said therefore in no way to deny, notwithstanding all its soberness in language and its deep earnestness in the subject-matter, the higher side of human nature which the earlier antiquity, with its peculiar elevation of thought and exuberance of language, regarded it as alone sufficient to distinguish. In this as in its whole contents and aim, the later narrative is a good supplement and appendix to the earlier. Thus, then, however correct and striking this account may be, sharply separating as it does the two different sides of human nature, all comes back, though with a difference of words and propositions, to the teaching of the Eighth Psalm as previously expounded. But just as little as the Psalm does the narrative solve the problem of the apparent contradiction in man's nature. In order to solve it we must consider this difficult subject further, and the Biblical suggestions about it, and above all contemplate man's high divine vocation.

The Divinely-human Work.

§ 261. The divinely-human work which we would now discuss upon the basis of Scripture we may recognise as the true vocation and destiny of man. There is such a work by which all men may be labourers together with God, a work to which God in creation itself gave the initial movement for all men, and in which all men should participate. Throughout its entire contents, strictly taken, the Bible

supposes the possibility of such a divinely-human work. To mention at once a case in point, what else does the idea of a covenant between the nation of Israel and God indicate, but a work in which both parties take interest, and in relation to which they were both to act in common each in his own way? The fundamental thought lying in this actually concluded covenant, on the one side goes forward in all its life and fruitfulness into the New Testament in order to find there its transfiguration for all time; and on the other, goes back to the beginning of the race, as the Book of Origins so simply and strikingly represents.[1] This divinely-human covenant, as it was concluded under Moses in the community of the true religion, gave to this community first of all the fulness and normal tendency of its life. Had it remained, through all the changes of the long centuries down to the coming of Christ, in its original sanctity and perfect inviolability, in the nation laid under obligation to observe it as a covenant, the thought of this one great divinely-human work would have stood out before the view of men with growing clearness and power. But there came different periods when the distinct remembrance of it faded and seemed ready to vanish altogether. Nevertheless, the thought of such a work as the one chief work in the continuance of this human world had become since Moses too firmly rooted in the deeper consciousness of all pious souls ever to be wholly obliterated again. Even in the darkest times, as well as in times kindled afresh by the trembling rays of its eternal light, this thought returns in increasing clearness and force; at first during the existence of the ancient kingdom amid the early gleams of Messianic hope,[2] and afterwards especially in Christ Himself. For Christ often speaks, with His intimate followers, it is true, of the works of God, His heavenly Father, which He

[1] Cf. *History*, ii. 143 f., iv. 290 ff., vii. 118 ff.; *Antiquities*, 103 ff.

[2] The clearest and most impressive expression of this is found in that Psalm which in a wide and peaceful survey of all the ages most profoundly conceives the relation of man to God, xc. 16 ff.; subsequently repeated in passages such as Hab. iii. 2.

must accomplish, since it is commonly only the manifoldness and rich variety of such works to which men look and which first of all strike them. Once, however, He speaks of the Father's work which He must accomplish,[1] as if all that He felt Himself called to do was in reality only one great work, which God required and which He was doing. It is of large moment in this connection that this one work was on the one side God's and on the other His own in close and inseparable union.

But apart from the Bible, also, it may be maintained that in the very nature of the case no conception is more just and necessary than this. For if the progress and ascent of the great creations of God into one creation, described above, is not unfounded, but the present creation which has reached the level of humanity is the consummation so far, a consummation, however, not excluding a higher but rather pressing forwards towards it; then it is evident enough that, strictly speaking, there is one work slowly, perhaps, as at first sight it seems, but in the long-run surely being accomplished amidst all apparently endless movements, revolutions, and changes; a work which, pervading the existing world, must at last be consummated in it, and which, proceeding in the outset from the Creator, and receiving its first impulse from Him, must also be equally at all times sustained by Him, whilst in such work man only amongst existing creatures is called to labour with Him, and in harmony with His will. If it were otherwise, the most unreasonable and impossible position would have to be accepted. Either God exists in a whole universe, as in a single great house, in which there is only aimlessness, confusion, and deception; or if God is not thought of at all, the best thing in any man's life consists

[1] John iv. 34, *αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔργον* according to all manuscripts. In vii. 21 also, it is true, the "one" work which Christ throws into prominence before His contemporaries is the work of healing there referred to; but it is as if He would say at the same time that His whole earthly activity is only "one" work, and yet "all" His contemporaries would not understand; as if He with this "one" work would, must confront them all!

in the highest and most continuous enjoyment possible of sensuous pleasure and delight. But this latter alternative is clearly in direct contradiction to the whole constitution of human life itself, and the Bible regards it as sufficient to condemn it [1] in the briefest and sharpest words, as indeed in some sort has ever been done by the noblest men of every age, and of every nation not yet utterly debased.

For the highest and purest joy, that which is synonymous with blessedness itself, is ever found in close connection with the consciousness of participation in the divine work. This is indicated in a most important passage of the Old Testament,[2] and it has already been shown [3] that such joy, contemplated as a mere experience, is one of the highest for all creation. Moreover, even the wild selfish chase after pleasure, which marks the life of man in his utter degeneracy,[4] proclaims clearly enough how certainly, by virtue of the very creation, in the case of every creature, and therefore pre-eminently in the case of man who stands highest, a longing for enjoyment is natural, and the search after it an ultimate aim, which is not, however, to be debased. But where joy is the opposite of this perverse wild passion, it is an experience of the human mind which it has in closest connection indeed with the work we speak of, but only a fruit of it, and consequently possible only through a living participation in the work itself. What that work is, what are its contents and aim, how or why it arises, these are questions the true answer to which is sought, and which must carefully in their whole relations be now considered.

§ 262. First of all, however feeble man may be, there is such a work; man is called upon to labour together with

[1] As in the words of 1 Cor. xv. 32 ; words repeated from the wisest and most severe of all the prophets, Isa. xxi. 13.

[2] Taking Ps. xc. 15 in close connection with the 16th verse explained above, and in such a way as the sense and coherence of all the thoughts of the profoundest of all the prayers of the community demands, what is said above will be understood.

[3] § 256, p. 152 f.

[4] Here belong the first words of the passage just mentioned, Isa. xxi. 13.

God. If such work is of immeasurable significance, we must gird ourselves bravely for the task of discussing it as the Bible presents it. In the outset, then, we must ask wherein the work of God Himself in the world consists, that we may thus properly estimate man's work, and say more particularly how it is to be done. For that God's work stands by itself altogether apart from all men, nay, that it is to be contemplated in its absoluteness without respect to man, and particularly to certain special men and nations, is self-evident. When the nation of Israel had diverged almost irretrievably from its divinely-appointed task, it was called upon to hear, as from the presence of God, how God could accomplish His work without it.[1] When Job appeared to the wise and thoughtful Eliphaz to have wandered too far away from the proper conception of God, he has to hear from the lips of Eliphaz that the blessedness of God does not depend upon him.[2] And where can it be more strongly affirmed that God does not need even that whole community, which imagines itself to stand in closest connection with Him and His work, than in the language of John the Baptist and others in the New Testament?[3]

In the Book of Origins is a reverent conception of what is so transcendent in its nature as to be scarcely capable of suitable expression in human language. When the creation of man had given the completion and crown to the Creator's work, God's day of rest began. This rest continues still in the world of men; the foundations of the order of things under which man lives remain stedfast; the invisible God appears to have withdrawn Himself into His repose. If we consider the immeasurable time in which, up to the origin of the human race, the world was in course of formation; the certainty also[4] that in the case of many worlds one must

[1] Ex. xxxii. 10.

[2] Job xxii. 2–5, according to the proper sense of these words.

[3] Matt. iii. 9 f., and then in a wholly different form, Matt. xxi. 43; Rom. ix. 21 ff.

[4] § 257, pp. 154–157.

succeed the other; and further, the vast commotions that must attend the formation of a new world; then it is conceivable that in these enormous spaces of time there should be a succession of periods of greater activity and greater repose. But the thought of the present human world as in glory and beauty lying always as in the very Sabbath of the now invisible Creator, most naturally follows at once. The idea of God as invisible, which is peculiar to the true religion, plays a conspicuous part in this representation; though this invisibility, as is evident from the representation itself, may be regarded as possibly ceasing at the end of the existing world and the beginning of a new order of things. But everything for which the world of mankind was created has now the repose in which it may find sufficient opportunity for development.

But the real and effective action of God does not therefore cease, nor has it ever ceased. The Old Testament everywhere attests the contrary, and in the simplest way Christ expresses the same truth in opposition to the misunderstanding of the Sabbath on the part of the learned men of the later time.[1] For if the work of God is verily in its sum and substance one and the same with the world and its development, how then shall that work ever cease in the world? Even where men do not or cannot see it in its clearest traces, it yet goes forward upon its steady and unceasing course. If, however, in any one nation, or in many nations simultaneously, long periods elapse when the multitude does not perceive or, indeed, purposely overlooks God's work, yet always at the appropriate moment there comes a time, as the Bible vividly attests by many a fresh and living experience, when men are reminded, whether they desire it or not, that such work is never wanting;[2] or when pious souls are irresistibly impressed

[1] John v. 17, in connection with the remark of vers. 9 ff.

[2] Where do we feel upon the different halting-places of the development of the whole history of the true religion more vivid and memorable impressions of this experience than in Ex. xv.; Ps. xviii., ci.; Ps. xlvi. and xlviii., and those akin to them; B. Isa. xl.-lxvi. and Ps. cxvi.; and, moreover, in the whole of

with the wish that it might once more be recognised by mankind without question in all its reality and distinctness,—the divine anticipation of the higher prophets declaring that soon enough it will be so recognised,[1]—whilst all along in the whole course of history the popular conviction is readily preserved that again and again there may occur unexpected proofs and indications that it never wholly fails.[2] But the most fruitful soil for this conviction in all its vividness and force is found where the true religion has once made for itself a sure and lasting home; and for this reason and in this respect the Bible is unique among all the writings of antiquity. Yet what, after all, does all history up to the present day offer, and offer in the last issue with one unvarying testimony, but the clear confirmation of this truth?

This great indisputable and unceasing work of God, of which the Bible speaks, going on always alike through all the creations as they follow one another, it is conceivable that during the continuance of each special creation it should take a peculiar form. In the existing world of mankind we cannot fail to observe how its course follows two particular directions —(1) it maintains the order of this human world in its relation with all the earlier creations; (2) it prepares also the way for the world that is probably to succeed the present, so that in due time it shall appear. But these two tendencies are not opposite and divergent, nor are they conflicting; we cannot suppose that such divergence and conflict exist, and we have no proof that they are possible. Rather does the coincidence of these two distinguishable aspects of the whole work of God lie not merely in the higher harmony of God's

the New Testament, especially Luke xxiv. 18 ff., with the Acts of the Apostles? Such clear testimonies as to the immediate experiences of the time must be understood just as they are evidently intended to be understood.

[1] Besides what is observed in § 261, pp. 168–171, such prophetic passages may be taken where the "work of God" is expressly mentioned, as Isa. xxviii. 21–29; Hab. i. 5 ff.

[2] This may be seen clearly enough, wholly apart from the New Testament time as the Bible depicts it, from the vivid discourse of the Book of Origins, Num. xvi. 30.

work through all the earlier creations, but also in that single great subject which is here primary, viz. the human creation itself, to which now our attention must be further turned.

§ 263. For if the human creation, and thus the whole present world in general, have any import and aim in connection with the whole creation and work of God, it can only be that this creature should learn to participate intimately and with individual activity in the glory and blessedness of the divine life, in a way far beyond what was possible to the creatures and earthly existences of all earlier worlds, so that thus a more perfect, *i.e.* a happier, world shall be evolved than has up to this time appeared. What a conception is this,—the creature capable of learning to participate more and more fully and purely in the whole glory and blessedness of the Creator; and to this end clothed in earthly material, and becoming in space and time of infinite diversity and multitude; but yet only with the prospect and hope of a future and still higher blessedness, to be brought about and prepared by means of just this work! Nevertheless for this, and for this pre-eminently, the human creation has from the beginning been designed, principally through the special measure of and special participation in the Spirit of God which are peculiar to it, as this Spirit was appointed from the first to work forth from man as a creature, and as in the larger and wider view we see it working forth proportionately in the long and changeful history of humanity, notwithstanding all change.

This spirit given to man in his creation in such energy and strength as is not found in the animal world is, it is true, also by creation, as in the case of the animal world, enclosed in earthly material that it may vivify and impel individual existence, and similarly in each case makes the senses its gate of contact and intercourse with all the rest of the world. But if we ask by what endowment man is so distinguished above the whole world of animals that he can interweave his own work with the work of God, and in such a way that this united action shall attain the highest aim of life, we find only

one capability that can realize the given possibility, viz. "free will," but behind free will, as making it on its part possible, "free knowledge" also, and both in a sense impossible to the animal creation. Nothing more appropriate can be said of these capabilities than that without them man would not be man, and still less could we speak of his co-operation in the work of God in the world. That the Bible denies neither the one nor the other, but rather presupposes both as a self-evident underlying condition of all that it demands of man in the way of spiritual culture as his divine duty, is clear enough from every part of it. If we ask, however, how this double capability is related to all the rest of the capabilities of the human spirit, and in what way that co-operation by virtue of them all can take place, we must remember that this spirit—

1. Put into the limits of earthly matter, is from the first early childhood of the individual man unceasingly stimulated and moved by all that it experiences from influences of the outer world, as well by their similarity as their diversity; but also possesses the capacity, as no other individual existence possesses it, to appropriate thereby the images of the whole world, in some cases more completely than others according to the historical position, but ultimately so that the whole world may be reflected as in the mirror of such limited space whose depths are most profound. "God has set the world in the heart of men," says the wise Qoheleth,[1] expressing just what we mean, "the heart" signifying the inward capability of impression, the spirit or the conception, the sense and understanding. But he adds at once to this proud expression, as if regretfully, that man, "the work which God has worked," *i.e.* just the universe as it arose and as it is, alas! "may not find out from beginning to end," however much he wearies himself to find it; thus indicating in a striking way the limitation of all human knowledge of the world so far as it rests in the infinitude of God, as already

[1] Eccles. iii. 11.

described.[1] But if this capability to receive in his spirit impressions from the whole world is the ground of all higher activity of man, and if it proves how certainly man is destined to survey and rule over all the earlier worlds, as the oldest narrative of creation points out as a sure truth, what would be the use of this whole knowledge, not merely of the present but also of all past history and worlds, as he pursues the sure traces of them, if his spirit had not—

2. The far higher capability to win in all things attained by perception "exact knowledge," *i.e.* comparing each individual thing with all others to put it in its right place, and so advancing from the one side obtain a correct view of a whole; from the other, however, to secure the conviction with respect to every individual thing that it is actually in this its narrowest or widest connection what it was held to be according to a provisional knowledge? This is the hearing, feeling, and tasting of things in that higher sense which the Book of Job[2] demands for everything which concerns man, and which the Books of Wisdom in the Bible so emphatically commend, whether under the name of knowledge, wisdom, reason,[3] or otherwise. But it is also that experience and discernment of the divine by the human, and that perception of the will of God to man, which forms the basis of all revelation.[4] And since man, in this appropriation of the whole infinitude of such higher knowledge, may embrace a whole world as well as in that process just described,[5] we

[1] § 153 f., pp. 40–48. That this idea of man had already arisen in the minds of the earliest reflecting men, and appeared to them the most appropriate, is proved by the name *manu, i.e.* Thinker, which ultimately established itself in the Aryan speech. This designation can have come into existence only after the Aryan had separated from the Semitic race.

[2] Job xii. 11.

[3] Beside חָכְמָה and תְּבוּנָה, or more briefly בִּינָה, "reason," the simple דַּעַת, like our "knowledge," is also found in the higher sense of science as meaning an art and facility of life, in such clear connections of discourse as Prov. xvii. 27, i. 4, ii. 6, xxiv. 5; but it is evident from these passages that it was in the schools of wisdom only that such usage of language was prevalent.

[4] §§ 11–46, pp. 5–139, *Revelation; its Nature and Record.*

[5] Par. i. p. 176.

have here that higher art of computation which, by the gathering together, comparison, and summing up of whole wide realms of investigation, even of invisible things, leads to ever new results and fruits of certain knowledge, and of which the Bible itself affords us an example in the Book of Qoheleth.[1] But what may so far be rightly designated exact knowledge is yet pre-eminently "free" knowledge, because it is free or open to man to know everything in the world without exception, the invisible and the visible, the one by comparison with the other, and the truth from its direct contrary; and all true knowledge can be attained only by such free movement of one's own mind. Since, however, he is summoned to action by all that he learns and experiences, this free knowledge becomes to man—

3. Free will,—the will to act in each special case as he holds to be right, pursuant to that free knowledge. So may he, then, in accordance with his own proper impulse, act obediently to the known will of God, thereby, however, working together with the work of God itself in the world, and putting himself in close relation with that whole divine determination whose double tendency has already been described.[2] In the feeble, destructible mortal body, in the dust of this earth, the veritable participation and blessed working together with God in His eternal purpose may take place, even as man in this present world is appointed thereto of God; and thus the problem proposed above[3] is solved.

§ 264. The enigma of the apparent contradiction in man is also solved, at least so far as it affects the divine destiny of man and his creation. To know this divine destiny is to

[1] If this book, apparently so obscure, is only rightly understood. But the clearest expression in it which elucidates this whole scientific procedure is vii. 27, which implies that man in inquiry must set "one thing to another," in order to find by counting the result of such computation, חֶשְׁבּוֹן, *computatio*, and so the truth that is sought. [Gesenius translates this word "reason," "understanding;" Fürst, agreeing with Ewald, "the power of combining;" LXX., λογισμός; Vulg., *ratio*.]

[2] § 262, p. 171.

[3] § 258, p. 157.

know his glory, and to know all that is noble that has shown itself in human history and may show itself in the future. It is at least to estimate aright his original greatness and glory which, just because they are original, and therefore rest in the eternal will and omnipotence of God, can never again be wholly lost; as, indeed, the Messianic hopes in the genuine sense of the Bible fully establish.

This glory is therefore pre-eminently that of the human mind, as it has received from the first its measure and its power with all other peculiar gifts. Moreover, that among all possible bodily forms of this earth, the human body is so fashioned as best to harmonize with this divine destiny of the whole man and this peculiarity of the human spirit is self-evident,[1] as in point of fact something similar occurs in the case of all other creatures. But indeed the great chief thing, viz. that the free will of man is the pivot upon which turns all man's spiritual activity, and the possibility of the realization of his divine aim, and that this free will presupposes free knowledge, is explained only by the divine destiny of man. And since, on this account, everything ultimately depends upon will, assigned to man as to no other creature, and assigned to him from the first and so unchangeably, this wholly new addition in the case of man to the sense-creation may very well mark the human creation as the *will-creation*, and so distinguish it from that which is lower in the sentient world. For in relation to animals, it is true some kind of will may be spoken of, as also some kind of imagination, understanding, and knowledge; but their will has neither the determination and office that man's has, nor that universal range of movement and effort which fits it to be called free; nor is it even with the noblest beasts so unalterable that it may not by domestication diverge from its original bent, and in so far be destroyed; whilst the human will at every

[1] On which account it is foolish to find any reference to the body as such in man's bearing the likeness and image of God, which we have just described, p. 162.

moment remains free and approaches nearer and nearer to the divine will as to its original goal, if only man himself does not pervert it. If then we speak of the will-creation, we mean always free will as it was thus first given to the world.

For without question the creation of will must be called the creation of a new world, the beginning and first spring of the whole present world, since it cannot be explained from the mere quiet and orderly progress and inner development of the previous creations. A new world enters, as far as we can see, when on the basis of an earlier preparatory one a living force appears which is not derivable from its predecessor, which has indeed over and above all it derives from thence its own development, because its own new purpose and its own new end. We men see now, it is true, the work of God advancing in the development of the present, *i.e.* the human world, as well in its customary groove as from time to time in movements of a rarer and more powerful kind; but not till we ourselves should have experience of a further new world-creation, could we know and understand such a world wholly otherwise than in its actual effects. For we live now in the flow and current of this our world, and looking back can recognise the certainty of the commencement at some previous time of this most recent world-creation by its effects, and can mark in the manifest preparations for it the certainty of a new world yet to come; but we can describe the latter and the former as divine events in their actual occurrence just as little as the very first world-creation. Such are the limits of our knowledge to-day, limits the Bible does not remove, and which to us are not merely necessary [1] but beneficial. Recognising thus distinctly what we can and what we cannot certainly know, we prepare ourselves the more calmly and collectedly to know at the right time what we know not now, sufficiently occupied and inspirited by the thought that what we can know and have not yet learned, we are gradually more and

[1] § 153 f., pp. 40–48; and below in the chapters on Immortality.

more fully becoming acquainted with in its whole compass and significance, of which indeed there is much that the nearer we approach to it the greater it becomes to our view.[1]

How certainly mankind since its creation is, however, conceived to be in the course of development to a new order of things, even where it is only blindly or perversely surmised, may be clearly seen with the help of the Bible by an example. The most prejudiced and obstinate man will not deny that there dwells in the human species, as something wholly peculiar to it, what may be called in one word, *the sense or desire of improvement*. All the earlier worlds are complete in themselves and finished; no progress towards some higher perfection is astir in them; every species in the animal world, including such as in our conception are busiest and most ingenious, is devoid of all passion for advancement to a higher culture or of capacity to attain it. With the human race, however, the sense or desire of improvement appears at the first glance, in the greatest and in the least of men, as the lever of all higher aspiration and history. It is the noblest spring of the faculty of imagination and invention, as well as of every other form of activity. It continually returns; though apparently relaxed here and there for a longer or shorter period, it is only that it may forthwith take up its work again with renewed energy and vigour. What indeed does the whole Bible show more emphatically than the unremitting

[1] What shall be said of Darwin and his imitators? They overlook all this, and, misled by the spectacle of a conflict for existence, like that enkindled to-day in the corrupt Franco-German world, and by their so far perverted taste, imagine the whole world of individual life as we see it now to have arisen similarly, the ape from the frog, the man from the ape! If they would only explain the bodily transitions from the one to the other, they could be endured and might be useful. But the one ultimate chief thing, the mental distinction, they overlook or deny, only because they are too inert or too dull to notice or appreciate it. Supposing themselves able to explain everything on their method, they really explain nothing at all of that which has chiefly and specially to be explained, but they confuse everything more and more wantonly, and cripple all eagerness to recognise aright the true tasks and difficulties of a scientific investigation. Thus must it ever be; misapprehension and disavowal of what is spirit and God are always their own punishment.

impulse of this sense or desire, if we consider it in its best aspect? or in what age, up to the present, has it been wholly lost? It cannot be said, moreover, that it moves in our race only as in a circle, and affords but play and scope for activity. What entirely different results did it produce in the community of the Old Testament from those effected in heathenism! And still further, how changed is its influence in Christianity! But true as all this may be, the question is at once asked, Whence comes this sense or desire of improvement so peculiar to the human race? Is it not manifestly the consequence and effect of a profounder impulse that must lie deep in the human mind? Whether it belong to the lower realms of man's wellbeing, or to that higher task of all human aspiration to which the great prophets of the Old Testament so emphatically point,[1] what is it always and throughout but one of the many indications how unceasingly the human race strives and moves onward towards a great ultimate consummation of the whole existing order of things?

§ 265. Keeping closely to the Bible, the same thing may be expressed in other ways and by other words and conceptions. This is of the highest moment, for the subject has such singular importance, and is at the same time to the common apprehension of such special difficulty, that, like other similar subjects, it cannot, by the utmost diversity of images, be too fully and distinctly expressed. The Bible itself, however, in passages where it is especially appropriate, contains allusions to it of the most varied character.

First of all, there is the simple but pregnant phrase, "the way of God," *i.e.* the way which He Himself takes through the world and upon which all men should follow Him. It is an eternal way;[2] it runs through all ages and all changes of the world, but only as the ever direct and uniform way, upon which in the fitting place emphasis is laid.[3] Neverthe-

[1] Namely, in the fine image of breaking up again or renewing the land that had run wild; Hos. x. 12; Jer. iv. 3.

[2] Ps. cxxxix. 24; cf. Hab. iii. 6, which at least is remotely relevant.

[3] According to expressions like Hos. xiv. 10; Deut. xxxii. 4; Rev. xv. 3.

less it branches out into the infinitude of worldly affairs and periods, as well as into those innumerable ways of God of which, when it is appropriate, the Bible so often speaks.[1] What are these ways of God and that one eternally great way, but the movement and activity by which the unique work of God is accomplished? And as certainly as men are to follow God's ways are they actively to take part in the infinite work which God purposes with them to carry to completion in the present world. So plainly is this idea closely connected with the previous one.

But most expressive and crowded with meaning is the short term *life;* and in relation to this truth no term is so forcible and so common as this. For whilst many ideas, as for example that of the way, scarcely point with any clearness to their opposites, life in human conception stands directly opposed to death with all its gloom. The Hebrew, however, as the language of the true religion *par excellence*, learned early to use this word in the highest sense it can bear, viz. that of immortality.[2] If we take the idea of life in the lowest sense it can have, it always signifies a self-directed, uniform movement, not constrained from without, but obeying some inner law, and tending towards a definite goal. Two different characteristics join here in indissoluble union, and both are found even in vegetation and in the lowest animals, viz. this uniform movement proceeding from an inner energy, and its tendency towards a definite end. But as the simplest and minutest life in the universe with the universe itself is but an expression and image of the infinite grandeur and glory of God, so is He Himself not merely the primal fount of all life,[3] but also in the ultimate sense of this term life itself, as He is

[1] As in the passages above mentioned, Ps. xcv. 10, and elsewhere so often in the Old Testament; also Rom. xi. 33, and other passages which echo the language peculiar to the Old Testament.

[2] Cf. § 48. 2. *Revelation; its Nature and Record*, pp. 144–5.

[3] According to the wholly original expression, Ps. xxxvi. 9*a*, it is said indeed only with God is this source, but merely because here that point is to be named whence for man it may be found; Jer. ii. 13, xvii. 13, go further, and similarly Bar. iii. 12.

omnipotence and love; and if the meanest life by its very activity has a definite end, how much more must the highest conceivable life in man have its end and aim! If, however, the aim of the creation of man in the present world is that he should know God and His will in order to work together with Him, it is obvious also that each individual man, so far as it is possible in the incalculable succession and infinite multitude of individuals, and so far as he himself does not resist it, may, in the course of this world, take some part in the highest life or in the immortality of God. And it is just as certain that the whole of humanity is appointed to work together with God in one immortal work expressive of the divine purpose, as that the Creator Himself, hidden from the common eye, works in the present world to a new yet higher, *i.e.* spiritual creation, which in the end is nothing but a new life such as never before has appeared either in an earlier or in the existing order of things. So that this whole transaction and example, whose greatness we can only conjecture, and whose scope and range in the midst of this course of things is absolutely immeasurable, may find its confirmation and proof in the idea of life as it is presented in the Bible with growing clearness and increasing prominence and power.

There is therefore a life destined for man which alone is worthy of the name. It may be spoken of in all brevity by the single word life, for when the discourse is of man and his divine determination such word must necessarily be understood in this larger and nobler sense. The usage springs from a characteristic intuition of the true religion; and as it arose primarily in the schools of wisdom as they existed in the ancient nation, it occurs first in the Books of Wisdom of the Old Testament.[1] Now the idea of the "way," as explained above, is closely connected with the new idea of "the way

[1] In expressions such as Prov. xii. 28, x. 16 f., xi. 19, xv. 31, xix. 23, xxi. 21, xxii. 4, cf. xvi. 15, where it is more artificially employed. An emphasis must be laid upon the fact that this new usage of language is purely Hebrew, and that it proceeded from the schools of wisdom as in the last mentioned § 263. 2, p. 177.

to life," which every man is to find and to choose;[1] and the images of a tree of life, of a fountain of life, of the water of life, borrowed from ancient and sacred conceptions of a blessed land of the gods, obtain among the people of Israel a new and higher significance.[2] Moreover, the simple idea of life in this enlarged and ennobled sense, comes forth from the schools of wisdom clothed in the most glowing forms, and it colours all the language of higher and purer feeling in relation to the divine duties of man.[3] When subsequently Messianic hopes had penetrated more and more deeply the entire thought of the nation, eternal life is spoken of continually as the blessedness of the future fervently desired and hoped for; and the brief word life, where the context admits, even without the article, bears, as the drift of the discourse suggests, this higher and nobler meaning.[4] The influence of these thoughts and ideas is seen in all later writings in which there is more serious and solemn reference to the last destiny of man. When Christianity enters into the world, these thoughts and ideas necessarily reappear with greater frequency and increased fervour, and with no New Testament writer are they so common as with John;[6] but the term "life of God," though essentially of the same import, is historically an innovation.[7]

[1] Yet very original in such instances as Prov. xv. 24, then ii. 19, v. 6, vi. 23; Ps. xvi. 2.

[2] Cf. *Dichter des A. Bs.* ii. 4; and below, the chapters on Immortality.

[3] In expressions such as Deut. xxx. 15–19; Ps. xxxiv. 12, cxxxiii. 3; Ezek. xxxiii. 15; Mal. ii. 5.

[4] It is not *βίος* but always *ζωή* that in Greek corresponds to חַיִּים.

[5] As in Bar. iii. 9; Ecclus. iv. 12, xv. 17, xvii. 9, xxi. 13, xxiii. 3, xxxi. 17, xlv. 5, and elsewhere in similar writings.

[6] But not with the John of the Apocalypse, except in standing familiar images; in such difference of phraseology this John is distinguished from the apostle. On the contrary, such phrases are very customary with Christ Himself, according to Mark ix. 42–45; Matt. vii. 14, xviii. 8 f., xix. 17, 29, xxv. 46; cf. Acts iii. 15. The expression *ἡ ὄντως ζωή* sounds quite Greek, but it is found only, 1 Tim. vi. 19, in old manuscripts.

[7] Eph. iv. 18.

XI. THE CONTINUALLY PROGRESSIVE ORDER OF THE WORLD.

§ 278. Sin is the great disturber of the order of things in the world of mankind or the existing period of creation. How devastating this disturbance is in its effects, and how painful for man, the Bible and all experience sufficiently teach. But since sin has its ground and basis of possibility in the creation itself, and, when it has occurred, its ultimate issue in the will of the Creator, the inference may be drawn in anticipation of the result, that the disturbance it produces will never break up and dissolve the order of the divine procedure in the world, but will finally even advance the higher aim of things. Of this supremely important position, maintained throughout the entire contents of the Bible, we have now to give further proof. Such proof is complete, if we regard carefully the two sides upon which the least or the greatest sin may be said to take effect, as soon as it comes into existence as an act of the human will.

1. If we look towards the divine side, it is clear that this must be directly and immediately affected, since sin proceeds from the human spirit, and in the strictest sense of the words within the creation only the human and divine spirit confront each other[1] in all that proceeds from the human will. It is permitted to the created spirit of man to act upon any definite occasion as free will impels it to act.[2] It may act, in such given case, conformably to the divine will or not; at all events as a human spirit it acts with a direct bearing upon the divine. This must be so necessarily, whether the action be good or bad; nor is it of special moment here what may be the material cause of the action or the infinite diversity of that material cause. In the case of bad actions this relation

[1] [Cf. "I believe that it (the doctrine of final perseverance) had some influence on my opinion . . . in making me rest in the thought of two and two only absolute and luminously self-evident beings, myself and my Creator." —Newman's *Apologia pro Sua Vitâ*, p. 4.]

[2] According to Rom. i. 24; but similarly Amos vi. 8; Deut. xxxii. 30.

of sin to God is the more readily overlooked, and man only is thought of who is so variously and painfully affected by such actions. But for this very reason one of the psalmists, who had searched most deeply this whole obscure province and knows it most fully, makes emphatically prominent this neglected aspect of evil conduct.[1] But whilst the action of the human spirit directly touches the divine, it has a stronger or feebler bearing upon the divine work which the divine spirit is continually accomplishing.[2] If therefore the human spirit so bears in its action upon the divine that it opposes the divine will and disturbs by such opposition the divine order of the world, it is the more evident in such case that by virtue of his free will man has in his own power his thinking and doing, but not the issues and consequences of his action. For the great work of God with its infinite forces still pursues its way, even if the individual man by his perverse action with reference to it tends to its disturbance. Thus the good work of man is taken up in the eternal progress of God's work as conducive to it;[3] but the bad as a counteracting influence is rejected and made void, however long, in the incalculable succession of individuals who practise it, it may be continued. And what is this but another way of expressing the deep abhorrence with which God rejects all human perversity of action as, in the midst of the agitations of life, the prophets announce in the most graphic words?[4]

[1] Ps. li. 6 f., according to the true exposition. ["For the earthly substance which suffers through sin, for example, whether this or that person is put to death, is accidental and non-essential; not against matter does sin properly take place, but every sin is in a strict and true sense against spirit, against God, a troubling (*trübung*) of the spirit, as well of the individual human spirit as of the universal and divine; therefore the poet here recognises in the most earnest and importunate prayer to God, where the discourse cannot be of sin and punishment in the human sense, that *only against God alone* has he sinned, *from whom* alone he may expect and win reconciliation and peace."—Ewald *in loc.*]

[2] § 261 ff., pp. 168–178.

[3] As all the prophets of the Bible continually place this clearly before the view, the latest of them does so also in the short utterance, Rev. xiv. 13.

[4] Such expressions may be here mentioned as Amos v. 21–24; Isa. i. 11–15; Hos. ii. 4 ff., and many others like them. Also such words in the mouth of

2. If now we consider the human side, we see here that sin, notwithstanding the ruin and desolation it has occasioned in the human race, in individuals, in whole nations, and through long ages, and which in our time it still occasions, nevertheless renders such service as the will of the Creator determines it should render. Every misdoing, even the most innocent, serves, when once done, to show to man the more clearly that which is right as its direct contrary, and to lead him to seek it; and all the pains and penalties of sin, when sin has once realized its own possibility, are but like the silver-leaf behind the glass, enabling man, as in a mirror, to recognise what sin really is—the caricature of everything truly human, and to avoid it with the firmer resolve because of the misery it brings. Everything in God's world, even that which appears to be most evil or is in reality through man's own guilt most pernicious and shocking, must serve some good purpose; otherwise it would not be the world of Him who is absolutely good, nor would it be itself good as answering the purpose of the Creator. So is it also with sin; and it is easy to show how much the Bible itself commends this view of the uses lying in sin, for the individual man and especially for the whole human race. The didactic books and the didactic portions of the Bible portray by striking imagery the unrighteousness, the perversity, and even the absurdity of wrong-doing;[1] and a later prophet, at a time when party spirit divided the ancient nation into irreconcilable factions, predicts that the remembrance of unrepentant sinners shall become among men a byword and an abhorrence for ever.[2] These are but a few of the plainest proofs of this

Jahveh as "I despise, I abhor," your doing, are not at all too strong; genuine love which can breathe only in what is just, and will only in righteousness reject the more decisively everything incompatible with justice and righteousness, and can do no other.

[1] Such portions are meant as Prov. xxiii. 29–35, xxiv. 30–34, vii. 6–27; and brief passages like Prov. xi. 22, xvii. 6. Among Christ's didactic parables, that of the unjust steward may be mentioned, Luke xvi. 1–13.

[2] B. Isa. lxv. 15, cf. lxvi. 23 f. Here belong a multitude of images which have their place in the discourse, and bear such glaring colours on purpose to

truth, proofs wholly apart from the purely historical instances of which the Bible is full, and which are fraught with the richest instructiveness.

3. These two forces as they may very well be called because of their effective power, viz. the divine reaction against everything that must rightly be regarded as sin, and the reaction in human judgment and conduct against all that is clearly known as evil, may work together more and more; and this combined and coincident working from above and below becomes a new force of ever-increasing strength the more the individual man or the entire human race gathers up and determines to this end the whole energy of free will. Here then is given to us the luminous picture of the order of the world for ever advancing to its own proper goal by the simple displacement of all hindrances. For two things are here involved—(1) that sin, by reason of the counter-working against it of the divine order of the world as it stands from the beginning, can never become too powerful or too destructive—in other words, can never altogether divert the course or stop the progress of this divine order; (2) that the more the individual man, and at length the whole human race, suffer both these counteracting influences to exercise their effect upon themselves wherever it is fitting, and thence with clearer insight and firmer resolve on their part, the less the divine order of things is disturbed, and the more that order moves on with mighty progress to its own proper and ultimate goal. Thus the free will of man becomes in the course of events more and more definitely directed into its own sphere and limits, and unfolds as it could not otherwise unfold its whole divine power; and thus what is the sole actual disturber of the infinite work of God serves at last as the most efficient aid and most powerful ally for its advancement.

The whole Bible may be put in proof for the correctness of

teach by contraries, as B. Isa. xxv. 10 f., lx. 11 f. Yet it may be remarked that such images belong only to the times when the old community was in its decline. Much more tenderly is the opposite indicated in Luke xvi. 23–31.

this position, and, strictly speaking, it is but one long confirmation of it. All the words of the genuine prophets, and most decisively those of Christ Himself, offer, as is fitting, their corroboration and proof. That all sin finds its limitation and the annulling of its action in the eternal counterworking of the divine order of the world, is the one loud and unanimous voice of the seer; and that man by the knowledge of the true nature and consequences of sin is to be dissuaded from its practice and led to act in accordance with the will of God alone, is also the teaching of the seer in words as clear as they are powerful; while the advent and work of Christ give to the whole in another way its final ratification. Moreover, what the prophets and Christ Himself teach by their word and confirm by their deeds in the close and painful interweaving of their own life with the darker side of human history in the world and its sad issues, that is presented in single great pictures as luminous as they are comprehensive. On the one hand, in the Book of Job the poet shows us the course of life of the individual man who remains loyal in faith to the will of God; on the other, in the Apocalypse of John is given the final destiny of the human race; and both point in this direction. Every other portion of the Bible also offers its contribution to the fuller understanding of this supreme truth. Thus, then, the whole Bible may justly be said to be one continual thousand-voiced confirmation of it.

§ 279. Meanwhile the same thing may be shown, conformably to the Bible certainly, but from a different side of the contemplation of this great subject. For what free will in man is, not as to its ultimate purpose and aim, but in its limitation and actual working, also supports the position we here maintain. Man sometimes deems himself empowered to take a bold stand because he possesses free will, and with it may attain all he wishes. The proud thoughts and presumptuous words which the great prophet Isaiah utters as from the mind and lips of the victorious and prosperous

Assyrian,[1] are heard to-day in one way or another among innumerable men. But if man were to imagine for such reason that his free will has nothing of limit and bound, he would commit a fatal and egregious mistake, and through an entirely groundless fancy would be involved and overwhelmed in an immeasurable sea of errors.

1. For as you seek contemplatively to mark the living source and fresh upspringing of the flowing waves in the sea of thought, and also the corresponding deeds which thought as it arises occasions, you are surprised in common life by ideas and acts as to which you know not rightly or exactly whence they come: you feel yourself moved and led by love or aversion, or as it is put more simply in Hebrew, love or hatred, and you cannot at the moment say why. As you go still further back, you discover that other thoughts have preceded your present thoughts and condition them; and as the chain is followed on and on to its extremest links in the past, you perceive how certainly all your thoughts were once and still remain possible only because man is a created being, with whom all thought and action become possible solely and simply by the power of the great Creator which is above him and around him. This is the dispassionate view of the mystery of the currents of our thinking and of the action which is its outcome, which Qoheleth,[2] in his calm, philosophic

[1] Isa. x. 7–10, 13 f.

[2] Eccles. ix. 1. The subject dealt with here, as is customary in this book, is only briefly sketched, but the words in their connection are clear, and are literally translated by the LXX., only that the first words of ver. 2 by a misunderstanding are strangely altered. But how capriciously has the Vulgate and again in another way the Targum distorted them! ["That all men without distinction of guilt or innocence, of frivolity (as in swearing, Matt. v. 37), or discretion, are subject to the same casualty, viz. death, because everything, their thinking and acting, their love and hate, rests in a higher necessity from which there is no escape, or proceeds according to the secret, hidden development, and no one can arbitrarily withdraw himself from this necessity, whose end for the individual is death. This is especially shown in chap. iii., cf. ii. 14 f., vi. 11, vii. 13; but how the freedom of the will is to be reconciled with this predetermination, this was not the place to discuss. 'Everything is before them' is meant as to time; through an eternal destiny preceding them everything is determined, so that they are surprised by the feeling of love or aversion, *they know not how.*"—*Dichter des A. Bs.* ii. 320.]

contemplation of human affairs presents to us, without in any way or in the least thereby forgetting God. Borne along by the vivid and profound consciousness of this mystery, the poet in the Psalter,[1] who in these matters is most sensitive and tender, declares in other words essentially the same thing. A thought scarcely comes to the tongue of man and seeks to express itself in speech, but it is no longer his only, even if the man himself be wholly alone, for it is interwoven with the whole infinite web of spiritual things, and is perfectly known to God before any one else knows it.[2] The mystery of the seeming play of human thoughts is by Ecclesiastes traced back into the past, by the Psalmist forward into the future; there it depends upon an infinite number of earlier thoughts, here it is taken up into a realm which stands far above all human caprice. The will of man is therefore limited both in time and in fact, both in its first impulse or origin and in its effect; for it is the will of the creature, and so of the solitary individual. If as exercised by man it entails in thousands of cases no specially perceptible good or evil consequences, yet in the most important questions of life and in the most decisive periods, it may prove whether for good or ill of so much the greater moment. Thus, then, the will of man is free as the will of no other creature is free, but nevertheless in the midst of its immediate and momentary incitement to activity it is under limitation; for it is not as the divine will, unconditioned and having its own independent aim, but it is conditioned on both sides, and is subservient to an eternally progressive movement, beyond and above him, of the will of God, which fixes the supreme aim of the whole universe.

2. The purpose the freedom of the human will serves will be more fully evident if it is considered that the will does not exist in the human spirit amongst its thousand-fold

[1] Ps. cxxxix. 4, cf. 2, 3.

[2] We express only somewhat more distinctly what lies in the brief words of the Psalm.

capacities as the one alone appointed to rule, nor even as pure will, but its activity is involved in the exercise of every capacity, and is determinable properly by the sense of right. The longer and the more variously free will in man has exercised itself, not merely in thinking but also in the outward action and conduct to which it ever tends, the more certainly can man perceive that it avails nothing against the omnipotence of God as that omnipotence is manifest in the world. This position Qoheleth[1] likewise maintains most emphatically and abundantly in his calm contemplation of things. Everything God does or makes is "for ever," and is perfect in itself, without possibility of addition or diminution — one of the finest conceptions of the Perfect; and certainly only that which is perfect can also be eternal; so teaches Qoheleth, and his words relate not merely to the words of creation, but also to whatever can be observed in history as complete in itself and finished. For who would wish the truly divine element as it appears, say, in Job's history to be other than it is; or who, indeed, would wish this in relation to Christ's history? Man "cannot contend with Him who is mightier than himself," he says elsewhere,[2] and the sense implies that this is God alone. And if he says further that "man cannot make straight what God has made crooked,"[3] either in the world of sense or in the world of spirit,[4] this is only a special application of the universal truth the wise man in all earnestness teaches. The Bible, it is true, declares everywhere that man cannot withstand the divine omnipotence; but here this truth is closely and intimately connected, as it is well it should be, with that other truth, the divine perfection of the world, upon which the same book lays such stress.

[1] Eccles. iii. 14.

[2] Eccles. vi. 10; some time before, the Elihu poet in Job had made the same thing prominent, Job xxxiii. 13 f.

[3] Eccles. vii. 13.

[4] Since Qoheleth everywhere has the spiritual world specially in view, it may be thought of here. Man cannot arbitrarily transform into justice, righteousness, and happiness what according to the will of God is in human history, distorted, unrighteous, and unblessed; as Isaiah says only in other words, v. 20.

3. The conclusion to which all our discussions on this subject lead is equally established as we observe, further, that Qoheleth nowhere thinks of the divine omnipotence as blind caprice, but rather represents it as one and the same with the will of God as it manifests itself in the entire order of the world.[1] For if the human will is limited by creation itself, and however earnestly it may attempt it can never really withstand the will of God, revealing itself in the whole order of the world, then it follows that the only end for which the free movement of the will is given to man is that he may be free to recognise the divine will, and work together with it; not, therefore, that he may be free to transgress it and sin more and more, but rather that he may be free through the image of sin as it is, that lies so clearly before him, the more resolutely to determine to follow that higher will alone. Moreover, according to this representation sin is doubly condemned, as well on the human as on the divine side; and if Qoheleth as the conclusion of the whole subject infers, "God has so made it that man should fear before Him,"[2] this conclusion, understood as it is intended in the higher sense of the term fear, shows us the direction in which man by his free will should ever be led.

§ 280. To understand aright, upon the basis here laid down, the whole administration of the divine order of things that for ever continues its progress, notwithstanding all human disturbance, it is necessary nevertheless to contemplate it as a whole, so that there may be no serious stumbling at the details of phenomena in the unsettled and transient present, dark enough to the human eye, and no mistake as to the simple grandeur and glory by which the divine order is for ever distinguished. Amidst the confusion and unhappiness of human affairs in so many periods of time there is danger of such stumbling and mistake. Even with the devoutest of

[1] If this were not self-evident in Qoheleth, it would nevertheless follow from what he so definitely sets forth in the whole third chapter to v. 17.

[2] Eccles. iii. 14, cf. xii. 13, as the last result of the whole contemplation of the book.

men this is the case, as the Old Testament shows, not merely in illustrious examples like that of Job, but in the profound lamentations of many a gifted and pious spirit expressing itself in song or prophecy in the whirl and tumult of its own vivid experiences.[1] How soon similar difficulties were felt and found impressive utterance in the Christian community when already it had arisen, and had to some extent developed and consolidated its power, the Epistles of James and of Peter bear witness, with the Epistle to the Hebrews that very soon followed. But all that the Bible contains that is relevant to this subject may be summed up in the three distinct and fundamental conceptions, "for of Him, and through Him, and unto Him are all things."

1. When the Bible teaches that everything is of God, it points back to God as the sole and ultimate source of all mind and life, of all energy and force, and of all movement and activity. But this truth is not to be limited to the original creation, or to the essential nature of living things as first determined by creation: such limitation in the face of the eternity and unchangeableness of God, who continuously carries forward His progressive work throughout the world, would, in the Biblical conception, be purely arbitrary. It follows, therefore, with respect to human duty, that, this truth being admitted, man should never boast of excellence and merit, if he has it, as though it were derived from himself as its ultimate source, and not from the grace of God, to which all is owing. The Old Testament everywhere presents this matter aright, and no one expresses the truth implied in it with such transparent clearness and force as the greatest of the apostles, who had realized it profoundly in his own experience;[2] nor, indeed, does any one grasp so strikingly

[1] No portion of the Bible is here so instructive as Ps. lxxiii., since the poet describes in it, with such vividness and breadth as no other passage presents, the danger to which he was exposed in serious reflection upon the divine order of the world, and how he now feels himself rescued from it.

[2] 1 Cor. xv. 9 f.; here, however, the apostle discourses most evidently of himself, because the occasion demanded it; in reality and at bottom his thought is

and comprehensively its essential principles, apart from experience, in this aspect of it. But if everything is said to be in the stricter sense of the words "of God," as the ultimate and never-failing cause and spring of all things in the world, then indeed everything which is to man apparently or actually an evil is in the last issue from Him, because without Him as the Creator and Sustainer of the world it could not arise in the world. All the evil and pain, for example, of which Job so bitterly complains is directly or indirectly sent of God. Moreover, the whole Bible, apart from the typical history of Job or others, contemplates as sent of God the evil which comes upon man.[1] Now this would be in direct contradiction with the idea of God as creating and sustaining the world in love, if the aim of the universe, and especially of the present human world, were dropped out of view. But it is impossible to admit such contradiction, and therefore it must be supposed that some good may be found in all the evil which comes upon man, and that it is this alone which, according to the will of God, should be sought and firmly retained by man. Furthermore, evil together with Satan and all his bad angels has thus a necessary place in the divine order of things; and how from evil the highest possible salvation for man may issue as its result the Old Testament shows in the typical example of the Book of Job, and the New Testament by an instance the highest conceivable, and at the same time occurring in the clear light of history. But instead of allowing ourselves to be led astray by the current saying, "All evil and all temptation come upon man from God,"—a principle not in itself incorrect but easily capable of extremely perverse and mischievous application, — James, in his loyal-hearted and simple speech, counsels us rather to think and to say, "Every good gift and every perfect gift comes only from above," and into good every evil may indeed be transformed

everywhere the same, and in the clear consciousness of this truth he finds the lever of his spiritual strength.

[1] Remarkable enough, for example, in the same epistle is also 1 Cor. iv. 6 f.

if only man is not blinded by false judgment and hardened in sin.[1]

No doubt there is much of detail in the sum of things in the world and the divine order that man is little able to understand, and cannot at all conceive how it can be of God. The dark questions by which Job was overwhelmed, as his poet represents him,[2] might be repeated to-day. In reality, however, all this is only as a summons to man to pursue his inquiry from point to point, and ascertain with growing certainty how far everything is of God,—a course of action the Bible does not forbid but rather demands.

2. If many of the details belong to that province of things with which, according to the Book of Job and the Apostle Paul, we are only partially acquainted,[3] we must, in our observation of the course of the order of the world as it goes on hourly before our eyes, the more firmly believe that everything that appears and takes place is "through God," *i.e.* could not happen if it did not carry in itself beforehand a higher possibility, by which it may be perceived just how far it is a necessity, and therefore in the last issue divine, or not. If this is to be observed on a thousand sides, yet two things must be specially considered in the general view.

First, very much happens which appears accidental, and which men generally designate as such, but merely because the events themselves cannot in every case, or at least with sufficient certainty, be anticipated beforehand, and occasion as they occur more or less of surprise.[4] But with God nothing

[1] Jas. i. 16–18 ; these words in their connection are clear only as they are properly taken, as strictly in opposition to the errors discussed in vers. 13, 15 ; and further, as the last elucidation and confirmation of the words at the beginning of the chapter, ver. 2.

[2] Job xxxviii. 4 ff.

[3] Job xxvi. 14 ; 1 Cor. xiii. 9, 12.

[4] מִקְרֶה, "accident," signified in common speech no doubt something in which no divine intention could be found, as is to be seen from the conversation with the Philistines, 1 Sam. vi. 9. But in the finer speech of the cultured of later days it serves as a circumlocution for the evil of death, Eccles. ii. 14 f., iii. 19, ix. 2 f.

is accidental, since nothing can be conceived as occurring in the course and progress of the divine order of the world which has not its ultimate cause and its appointed place in that order. The ancient prophet Amos,[1] on a given occasion, states this principle with great emphasis; and Christ Himself gives, where it is possible, still clearer prominence to the thought that not even that which is apparently of least significance is accidental, at least where life and death are concerned, and matters of such fundamental moment in the divine order of things.[2]

Secondly, as everything evil and perverse which happens to man may very well seem to him to lie outside the divine order of the world, so especially the deeds and whole possibility of the life of the unrighteous in all their power may well appear to him to be something wholly irreconcilable with such order. But how certainly everything is of God all human action confirms in a sense doubly strong. For if free will moves and works in man as if he were God, and may indeed embolden itself to contravene God's will, yet this is so only because God has given to the will such power, at the same time prescribing its limit. If, then, the whole life and conduct of the unrighteous has its possibility only through God, it must serve in the course and issue of things to advance the ultimate aim of the divine order, and so prove in the long-run only an instrument in the hand of God for good. The Bible shows this in the great examples of Pharaoh from the earlier time, and Nebuchadnezzar[3] from the later time; and also in the sublime visions of the Apocalypse[4] in relation to the future; while certain Psalms yet more immediately proclaim it in its divine necessity with the glow of the most vivid feeling.[5]

[1] Amos iii. 3–8. [2] Matt. x. 29 f.

[3] To which example, in the whirl and confusion of that time, Jeremiah, with solemn earnestness, had to point, xxv. 9, xxvii. 6, xliii. 10. Similarly, although in expression very differently, Isa. x. 5 ff.

[4] Cf. Rev. xix. 11 with xiii., and all which precedes.

[5] Especially Ps. lii., lxiv., lxxxii., and the like.

3. But since, notwithstanding all human disturbance, the divine order of the world does not alter its direct course to the appointed goal, everything comes at last of necessity to God again. All men's thoughts, to speak only of man, must ever again turn to God alone, and stand in closest relation to Him; the spirits of men and the consequences of all evil thoughts and deeds must more and more vividly be manifest in all their nothingness in the light and power of His justice and truth; while the issues of all divine thoughts and deeds of men more and more completely and victoriously further His work, and with Him and for His sake reach that ultimate goal of the whole present human world which His own will has appointed and His own infinite glory and love demand. Such is the drift and import of the whole Bible. That brief treatise, however, which discusses these great questions concerning the relation of human and divine things in an abstract way, that is, with a purely scientific interest, and yet is so gravely misunderstood by some who seek to be wise, will sufficiently establish our position. Qoheleth puts the matter in two short sentences which, taken in their proper connection and rightly understood, are very suggestive. "God seeks" that which has been driven away, that which has evaporated and vanished, "the Past," which men are disposed to think gone for ever, forgotten and lost without possibility of recovery; but God seeks it nevertheless; before Him and in the course of the world He rules it is not lost, but must ever collect itself together again unto Him, and must be taken up and appropriated by His work. So says Qoheleth in the midst of his contemplations of things;[1] but the aim and issue to which this tends he tells us at the end of his book, when he points to the "return" of the human spirit to God, and "the judgment of God" upon every hidden thing whether good or bad, as the ultimate and most certain conclusion of the whole matter, the sum and product of his dispassionate

[1] Eccles. iii. 15*b*; concerning the half of the line cf. what is remarked below, § 282.

survey of this vain and transient course of things, *i.e.* the world.[1] What Qoheleth thus calmly expresses, purposely restraining the glow of inner thought and feeling that he may not fall into grave errors of various kinds, the whole Bible repeats in different ways and in the most pronounced doctrine. Everything in the world is not merely of and by, but necessarily and in the end unto God. And what a confirmation of all this is the whole history of the world, with the Bible, to the present time!

§ 280*a*. If now the possibility of sin belongs to the divine order of the existing world of creation, there belongs to it just as well also the possibility of man's ultimate entire withdrawal from the practice of sin, and consequently the last victory over it and its final disappearance; so that the aim of the creation of this human world may actually at last be attained and a new higher world without sin succeed. For can one temptation be overcome, all temptation may at length be overcome; and the certainty of such issue the entire contents of the Bible suggest. Nay, not until we climb this effulgent height, towering above the dark and dismal abysses that sin opens to our view, do we come to the full and proper knowledge of the divine order of the world, the knowledge which the Bible enables us to obtain and stedfastly to cherish.

The human race by the exercise of its peculiar energy is destined to secure all the incalculable gains which in the successive stages of its progress it may make its own; and is destined also to find its joy of life, as in the labour that is contributory thereto, so in the consciousness of its acquisitions and their employment for higher and still higher issues. What a series of stages never to be lost sight of lies before us in our survey, from the traces of the doings and endeavours of man primæval preserved in the record of the rocks to the tokens of progress attained to-day and still further to be attained! But upon each stage every perverse aim and

[1] Eccles. xii. 7, 14.

every mistaken action are to be only an incitement and admonition to better things. Even in the lower stages this is so, if from thence man has come to understand that there is a will of God which in everything he must obey, and that as he acts otherwise the worse fault which is called sin arises.

1. As, however, God does not desire shortcomings and sins, but, seeking from man that which is right, freely pardons sin where there is honest repentance and a turning to the right; and as Christ also enjoins that every one should guard himself against offences, although according to experience hitherto these must still come;[1] so there dwells in the right, when it once actually obtains sway, a far greater power than in its opposite, just because it is in harmony with the divine order of the world, unites with that order, promotes it, and is well-pleasing to God. This superiority manifests itself in the institution of new and better methods and laws in the conduct of life henceforth, and also in the neutralizing of the effects of earlier mistakes and sins; the latter being fully realized only by help of the former. Here lie the progress and the new aids and securities of salvation in the case of individual men and in the case of whole peoples and eras; which the Old Testament in its earliest elucidations expresses as a fundamental law, and in the New Testament no one shows more distinctly than the great apostle to whom, when once in the right way, the retrospect of former errors proved a powerful and constant stimulus ever afterwards to loyal and stedfast perseverance in it.[2]

2. Looking further at the three stages of the progress of sin, as it is found (*a*) in the individual, where as in the early youth of humanity it is a less serious error that may at once be annulled, but (*b*) through repetition and persistent stiff-neckedness, the evil consequences and the divine punishment being disregarded, it becomes more and more pernicious, while upon the rise and working of the Holy Spirit it assumes in the

[1] According to Matt. xviii. 7; Luke xvii. 1 f.
[2] As he himself most frankly testifies, 1 Cor. xv. 8–10.

individual an aggravated form of guilt, till at length (*c*) it attains in society its extremest power by spreading its contamination to innumerable souls and incorporating with itself thousands of prevalent misjudgments and corrupt tendencies of the mind. This progress indicates that there is a growth and fellowship of evil in the spirit of the individual and still more in society; but on the other hand, there is also a growth and fellowship of good and of the divine which, according to what has been said, are in themselves when once operative among mankind far mightier than evil, and exert a far more potent influence upon society if only they are present in the fearless and resolute activity which properly belongs to them. Indeed, according to sacred tradition and ancient proverb, ten or five or three righteous men have before God more value and importance than many thousands of other men, and may be the means of saving a great multitude of souls;[1] and if everything ultimately depends upon the elevation and strength of what is divine in the individual, why should not in such case, if the divine power is present in the highest degree conceivable, a single individual suffice? So the New Testament in its early chapters speaks with emphasis of the few grains of salt which may preserve a whole body from corruption,[2] and of the small portion of wholesome leaven which may leaven the whole mass.[3] If now such righteous men suffer greatly that righteousness and goodness may not perish from the earth, and thus attest to the utmost their fidelity, so that many feebler men and men of a later age may by their courage strengthen their own, and finally by their merit and service find salvation; thus is established and confirmed the principle of the fellowship of the good against that of the bad, and the greater power of the former as against that of the latter, so that in the entire course of human history the progress of good may be far more extensive and far more enduring than

[1] According to the fine and noble narrative, Gen. xviii. 17–32; Isa. xix. 18; Ezek. xiv. 14 ff.

[2] Matt. v. 13; Mark ix. 50; Luke xiv. 34.

[3] Matt. xiii. 33; Luke xiii. 20 f.

the progress of evil. If, moreover, the fact of divine punishment coming upon the unrighteous is a primary, and in the earlier times of the Old Testament a most important, means of instruction,[1] there enters also subsequently with increasing force the opposite fact that the sufferings of the righteous may be a powerful means of purification and redemption for many souls.[2] Pre-eminently is this the case when on the one side there is the highest righteousness, on the other the greatest unrighteousness, and the latter through the attempted but impossible extirpation of the former shows itself openly in its utter futility and absolute repulsiveness; for there goes forth from such supreme conflict a divine warning to all to choose in repentance and amendment of life the way to God now again freely opened, and to appropriate that divine service and merit which the righteous sufferer has achieved, and which they themselves as less righteous might long before have made their own. The power and dominion of evil and of good thus appear in human history in opposition and conflict; the gain or loss of the one is felt by the other, but finally the balance falls to the side of the divine.

3. But it is to be remembered in addition, on the one hand, (*a*) that the power of sin and of evil may ever return so long as all possibilities under which man can make mistakes are not yet fully exhausted, and have not yet completely passed away before the well-established habit of better things in life and conduct; that there is accordingly a history of sin and evil extending itself through the whole development of man, and that the sins of the childhood and youth of humanity are other than those of a later time,

[1] Of the most powerful kind in the oldest great example, Ex. xi. 4–9, xii. 29–33; and the figure of redemption-money being added which may be paid for the prisoner already doomed to death, in the ancient Proverbs, xxi. 18, xi. 8; repeated, however, in B. Isa. xliii. 3.

[2] Thence the idea of the purifying sacrifice being added, it might be said inversely, "the righteous dies for the unrighteous;" B. Isa. liii., the meaning of which will be explained below.

and the sins of the pre-Christian era other than those perilous and destructive sins afterwards possible; (*b*) that this power, however, in its resistance to the divine will, and its opposition to the eternal progress of the divine order of the world, at times circumventing that progress and gaining ground upon it, is nevertheless never able to attain for itself a direct and ever-continuous advance, or to keep and hold together its occasional gains, as the divine element is in reality able to do as it moves forward in human history. So also it is evident, on the other hand, (*a*) that the development of the divine, from the first victory it wins right onwards (and the lesser victories were already secured in the first childhood and youth of our race in the formation of language and the establishment of human society), is always a few steps in advance of evil, so that further and still further advances of this kind may be anticipated; (*b*) that it is possible merely on this account that this whole progress of the divine in all its further developments and in its incalculable details shall yet attain at length the goal appointed of heaven; but (*c*) first One must come who in the midst of this course fulfils so perfectly the conditions of this consummation, so far as the individual can fulfil them, that all men shall be summoned and incited to follow on the path He opens.[1]

But further, if all this is so ordered that in the divine mind the whole immense course, which contains in itself everything conceivable in relation to man, may be already surveyed beforehand, even as the experience of a long series of thousands of years has confirmed it to us, and if thus the end is thought of even at the beginning, and the beginning is remembered even at the end, the explanation is given how the Bible (*a*) at the creation can at once think of the "perfect Man of God;"[2] how it (*b*) can speak

[1] [Cf. Butler's *Analogy*, part i. chap. iii., part ii. chap. v., of which this whole section almost reads like a reminiscence.]

[2] § 249 ff., pp. 124–139.

in the narrative of the first sin, of a conflict from that time forward in perpetuity, but yet at last victorious, between man and evil; and how (*c*) the Old Testament anticipates a Messiah, and as of necessity demands and calls for Him,[1] and the New Testament describes Him as according to historical certainty actually come, and as Himself the pledge and guarantee of the true conclusion of all human history. For all this is connected together as by a firm and continuous thread; and no one will possibly arise in the future to break it, but he will annihilate also at the same time all that is truly human and divine. So contemplated generally, all this is relevant here in this chapter concerning creation and the world in their connection with God. The whole subject will be further discussed more in detail below.

§ 281. Meanwhile the proper observation and survey of the whole course of this divine order is for man in all the situations and modes of life, a matter, on the one hand, of such importance, and on the other of such difficulty, if the whole infinite truth concerning it is to be exhausted, that the Bible presents and illustrates it in many different ways, adapted to the diversity of human apprehension.

1. Where an order is spoken of, *i.e.* something always in movement and progress, men think rightly enough of stedfast and invariable *laws* which determine the order, and which so uphold it that it keeps its uniform course continually without let or hindrance. In this highest of all conceivable cases, laws certainly may be spoken of as always upholding the order of the world; indeed, God may be regarded as Himself the law of the universe. Thus the whole question might be considered to resolve itself into a detailed exposition of this highest all-comprehending law, or, in other words, the proper ascertainment of the particular fundamental powers of the divine mind which established the whole universe, and lead it forwards to its ultimate goal. The Bible speaks of the "laws of Heaven," and of

[1] § 251 ff., pp. 133–148.

Heaven's rule over the earth, made possible and actual by means of such laws; partly according to the right feeling that all that is worthy of the name of dominion, whether it be limited or infinite, must rest upon the sway of laws, by which alone it can be established and upheld; partly according to the equally right feeling that the earth, as compared with the immeasurable heaven above, is too small and too feeble not to be dominated by it.[1] In the course of the divine order of the universe, how much that is still imperfectly known depends upon these and other laws of the world above and beyond us! It is true, our human world seems not to be subject to such stedfast and all-embracing laws as that above it; the free will of man appears to prevail here without measure or limit, so that human caprice may be said to dominate; ineradicable errors and sudden deeds of violence of mighty men seem incessantly to combine to disturb, confuse, and lay waste everything anew. But all this is only appearance. In the stir and strife of this present unsettled state of things, men are often, like blind players, bewildered in the turmoil they help to create. That the human world, like that above and beyond it, is dominated by eternal divine laws, the great history of the world shows, as the Bible unveils it in its chief contents and true significance, and as it stands before us more and more fully unveiled to-day. The main difficulty is that man himself is called upon to employ his faculties, not only in ascertaining these laws, and especially those affecting himself, but also to subject his free will to them when known; a submission which in his caprice he regards as not at all needful, and even most

[1] From these words from the Book of Job, it may clearly be seen how fully perverse and groundless is the opinion of the Ludwigsburg Strauss and his present-day followers, that the Biblical religion is no longer of any service, because it knows nothing of the Copernican laws of heaven and the relation of this little earth to them. Of the smallness of the earth in the universe already the Book of Job knows enough; but a man who does not wish to know anything of God, as is the case with Strauss, may as well hide himself behind Copernicus as behind any other human name.

irksome, while strictly considered it is his one great necessity. But the start has been made in this direction long since. For what are the Ten Commandments but well-known divine laws prescribing the right rule of life, in the observance of which man places himself upon the line of the eternal progress of the divine order of the world? And what are all Christ's words but so many powerful inducements and incentives to the submission of the free will of the whole human race, without the outward constraint of such prescribed commands, to the divine laws which specially relate to man?

2. But the mere discovery and knowledge of the laws of the divine order do not always suffice. There are times and moods in which man cannot but fervently rejoice in the actual realization of this order, and its unfailing wisdom, in his own experience. The ancient nation of the true religion looked upon the whole universe as in closest union with God, and regarded it as the vast house in which He rules.[1] It was natural, therefore, to think of that rule as oversight, care, or *providence* with which the true lord watches over everything in his house, distributing at the proper time what is due to every member of it, and neglecting none.[2] Varied and ever-changing thoughts and images spring from this representation, but all of them striking and appropriate. Everything which has life and growth experiences this divine guardianship,[3] or this fore-

[1] As in the clearest way the long Ps. civ. shows from its first to its last thoughts.

[2] The verb פָּקַד and the noun פְּקֻדָּה are the words prevailingly employed in the Old Testament in this sense; but they have a reference to the rule of one exercising oversight and guardianship over a house, even the largest and most comprehensive. The LXX. indeed translate them by ἐπισκέπτεσθαι, ἐπισκοπή, and otherwise variously by other words, only not by προνοεῖν, πρόνοια. These Greek words, which give a still more finely appropriate sense, were preferred later, according to Wisd. xiv. 3, xvii. 2, and with reason; they were, however, very customarily employed about the beginning of the Christian times, according to 2 Macc. iv. 6, Acts xxiv. 3, in order to designate most delicately, and thence also in the way of flattery, the administration of supreme dominion. The Vulgate translated the words *providere, providentia.*

[3] Job x. 12.

sight of the divine favour.[1] As the just administrator of the whole affairs of a great house does not overlook the most isolated and detached part of it under his care, but at the right time devotes to it the special attention it deserves, so God visits the individual man, the whole nation, or the whole of humanity, either with His favour[2] or His chastisement.[3] Yet it would be impossible to mention here everything of this kind the Bible contains, as may readily be understood. This, however, is worthy of note, the Bible nowhere has in it fictitious narratives, such as are much written in modern times, to prove the reality of divine providence. With the Bible, for good reasons, nothing is more self-evident from the beginning than the reality of it: and nowhere is the consciousness of it more forcibly and exultingly manifest than in the Psalter, and at length with triumphant and luminous clearness in Christ Himself.

3. Furthermore, the Bible shows how vigorously the minds of the godly of those days often struggled vividly to feel and realize the actual existence of the divine sovereignty in the universe, as well as to present a view of it by clear bright image and graphic picture. What does man more readily forget and overlook than that which at every moment he ought least of all to forget and overlook, viz. the highest and sublimest truths? It was as if for the purpose of counteracting this tendency or supplying the need thus felt, that the conception of angels of all kinds,[4] as an indestructible heirloom from the world's earliest youth, a creation springing from the first freshness of man's faculty of figurate perception, must have been the more eagerly preserved in the actual life of true religion in the ancient nation, and now also for ever confronts us from the Bible with new and animating

[1] As Gen. xxi. 1; 1 Sam. ii. 21; Luke i. 68, 78, vii. 16; Acts xv. 14.

[2] As apart from the cases just mentioned, in such passages as Ex. iii. 16, iv. 31; but in the form of a request only, Ps. cvi. 4.

[3] As Isa. x. 3; the LXX., in cases like Ex. xx. 5, render it therefore by ἀποδίδοναι, *retribuere*.

[4] Cf. §§ 214–227, pp. 66–80.

power. The thought of angels and the most graphic representation of their nature surprised the pious of old time with the most vivid feeling of their nearness. Especially was this the case from the ancient and simpler days down to the time of David; while with a new and all-transfiguring power such conceptions returned in the first period of Christianity, when Christianity had to find for itself a fitting home upon earth. In the intermediate times, although the thought of angels lost more and more its original glow, and continued in speech to be referred to with increasing prevalency rather as a once familiar and ancient conception, yet its essential truth can never wholly be lost. The more strongly and widely the need was felt to present to the mind the divine sovereignty of the universe and its course in fuller and more systematic view and in clearer images, and the more vividly on this account the thought still returned to the old sacred conceptions of heavenly spirits and powers of all kinds, the more fitting was it that the great poets and prophets should meet this need, as they alone could meet it. Medallion-like pictures of the administration of the heavenly powers were given on the one hand by the poet of Ps. xxix. and the author of the Book of Job, and on the other by Isaiah, Ezekiel, the writer of the Book of Daniel, and the Apocalyptist of the New Testament, all bringing such heavenly powers before us in their highest perfection and with ever-fresh instructiveness. Thus the more indelibly is impressed upon the mind, the more profoundly realized, the fundamental truth, that there is a purely divine order and rule of the world, which above all human authorities and kingdoms stands for ever sublime, inviolate, immovably stedfast, serving for their enlightenment and consolation when they do not estrange themselves from it, for their condemnation and punishment when they do. This is, in short, "the will of God" of which Christ ever bade His disciples be mindful, and concerning which He taught them to pray that by men it might always be

"done on earth" "as" in every moment "it is" actually "in heaven."[1]

XII. THE WONDERS OF THE BIBLE.

* § 172. God does wonders; and His ways in the midst of men, His power, light, word, are wonderful; and He Himself is the wonderful mysterious God. Whatever is meant by "wonderful" must be in harmony with God's being in general in its distinction from the universe and man. That which appears new, extraordinary; that which is unexpected, surprising, the process of which is unexplained, and the course of which from beginning to end is not to be traced, is wonderful. Yet even when by reference to that which is known of things and their higher connection, astonishment ceases, the nearer view opens new problems, and wonder begins afresh; much more does this obtain in spiritual things. When wonder ceases, history ceases for man; he is no longer man, but becomes as God.

* § 192. The idea of "wonder-working" is a special aspect of omnipotence. The wonder is what is new and unexpected,

[1] Matt. vi. 10; Luke xi. 2. Superficially taken, these highly important words might be understood as saying, may the will of God *as* there, *also* here, *i.e.* everywhere be done, in heaven and upon earth. But taken literally, the sentence would then run, according to the simplicity of the Hebrew, simply "in heaven and upon earth," without any further circumlocution and special pre-eminence in relation to heaven. Nay, it would then still more simply run, "Thy will be done," as actually some manuscripts read in Luke. But that in heaven bad and good spirits strive with each other, many such spectacles as Rev. xii. illustrate, and passages like Job xxv. 2, cf. with iii. 8*b*, v. 7*b*, ix. 13*b*, and others presuppose. Nevertheless, that the will of God is not done in heaven, and bad spirits there can be as disobedient to it as men upon earth, is against everything which the Bible says in the Old Testament, and which can be reconciled with the true religion; least of all, however, would an idea of this kind be consonant with the words of Christ. The words are therefore necessarily to be understood as speaking of heaven as the place where continually and without exception the will of God is done, and so the kingdom of heaven itself just before mentioned as the pure pattern for the earth, and whose present inhabitants are referred to; accordingly the words run, "as in heaven" it is done, "so upon earth."

and is the work of the same Spirit that created everything; the possible wonders of God are not determinable and measurable beforehand. "Nothing is impossible with God," "nothing too wonderful for Him."

§ 282. The Bible speaks, however, not only of the wonders of God, but also of wonders which happen through man. The significance of such wonders in relation to the course of God's order in the universe now demands consideration.

1. How feeble and often culpably indolent and blind man is in discerning the divine order of the world as it exists, we have already seen; and we have traced the stages by which our knowledge of this divine order must advance to approximate with certainty and confidence to its ultimate end. Now all recognition of God, of His Being and of His way in the universe, arises in the first instance from the deep impressions the outward world makes upon the mind of man. But in the many and diverse incidents which have long since made such impressions, and which formed the material for the kindling of such high knowledge of God and His power in the world, there may be some incident of a wholly unexpected character which occasions wonder and astonishment, making the mind again and again attentive to the obscure and unknown workings of that supreme power, long since reverenced as this or that God, or even recalling to the thought the actual existence of God so often and so readily forgotten. In the general and common acceptation these are "wonders," the "signs" and "tokens" of the Divine, otherwise hidden from view, to which the heathen gave heed in early times, and which their priests sought to classify and interpret and refer to their different divine sources.[1] For heathen nations, with their awakened sense and timid fear of the Divine, always paid great regard to the strangest and most wonderful occurrences,

[1] Apart from the immediate names for wonders, נִפְלָאוֹת and poetically פֶּלֶא, two words in Hebrew have been preserved, manifestly from the very earliest times, signifying wonderful sign or prodigy; אוֹת, σημεῖον, and מוֹפֵת. Both originally designated certainly different kinds of prodigies; but their distinction

and their priests found a special occupation in collecting carefully and explaining certain kinds of them, although they never did more than minister to a vague sense of wonder or offer interpretations of an arbitrary and fanciful character with a view to serve at times mere private ends.

How entirely different was it in the community of the true religion from its commencement under Moses! Here, the true God alone being the sum and measure of things spiritual, and a large and certain knowledge of God Himself and spiritual things having been established, it was required that everything that with right could be called a wonder should contribute to the better knowledge of the majesty and grace of God, and to the greater fear of His name, and only a wonder that really and manifestly answered such an end was regarded as a true wonder.[1] Thus mere blind astonishment and vain guesses at interpretation vanish; but the wonder still retains its wonderfulness. In the later and degenerate days, however, when seductive heathen usages had found their way into the community, and in the practice or the furtherance of false religion wonders merely casual or artificially produced became prevalent, the Deuteronomist, influenced by the vigorous and persistent denunciations of the prophets,[2] enlarged the scope and augmented the stringency of the old prohibition, and showed clearly and distinctly enough the pernicious character of such superstitions.[3]

is now no longer quite clear; in their roots they are both altogether isolated. Meanwhile אוֹת corresponds to the Arabic, and מוֹפֵת is more a "foretoken" ("prefiguration;" LXX. *τέρας*; *portentum*) than a simple sign, from an old root יָפַת = יָפַע, יָפָה, "to shine bright," with which the ancient proper name Japhet is connected. Cf. *History*, i. 279 f.

[1] This may be seen clearly enough from the "that you may know that God is so and so," Ex. ix. 16, xiv. 4, 17 (repeated in Rom. ix. 17), Ps. lix. 13, and also from all the narratives of miracles in the Bible. From this is explained also how, at least in the higher speech, everything with right to be thought such a wonder could be called briefly נוֹרָאָה, *augustum quid*, 2 Sam. vii. 23; Deut. x. 21; B. Isa. lxiv. 2; according to Ex. xv. 11; Ps. lxv. 6 (Eng. version, 5).

[2] As especially Jer. x. 2–10.

[3] Deut. xiii. 2–6. Cf. *Revelation; its Nature and Record*, pp. 213–217.

Still later in the changing history of the ancient community there came periods when with the possession of the sacred books the knowledge of the true God seemed to abound, and the passionate contentions and ill-advised endeavours of the day could be surveyed with a wholly new composure. Qoheleth in his calm philosophic glance at human affairs and things universal affirms a proposition altogether new and unheard-of hitherto in antiquity. "There is nothing new," he says, "under the sun," *i.e.* in the course and experience of earthly things; "what has been and has happened" is only the same that "will be and will happen," and conversely what "will come and has to come" is only the same that "long ago has been," and so all earthly affairs are conceived as moving in a circle, and therefore empty and vain.[1] This calm reflection upon the course of the world, sustained as it is by the eternal laws of the universe and its order,[2] and in its unfavourable sense by the common course of human affairs,[3] fairly claims its right, especially in the face of the foolish boastings and idle fancies of men. If we consider how things occur in the world, it seems that everything repeats itself as in a perpetual circle. In all ages kingdoms rise and fall, good men and bad appear, success and failure are found. Differences there are, but they are only of more or less, and in the higher survey these all vanish. The later the age, and Qoheleth manifestly belongs to a late period of the Old Testament, the more certainly will such an observation force itself upon the mind. Why marvel or be disturbed about anything in the world? says Qoheleth in effect. From such a reflection

[1] Eccles. i. 9 f.; repeated, as previously shown, iii. 15. In this passage (iii. 15) the accentuation in the case of כְּבָר is wrong, notwithstanding the apparent similarity of the words in i. 9, vi. 10; as already has been said in *Dichter*, ii. p. 302; but merely because according to the present reading the הוּא which follows makes a difficulty. All things well considered, one must really decide to read instead יִהְיֶה, "will be"; which rare form is found also in xi. 3, and is explained in *Lehrbuch*, § 192*c*.

[2] According to Eccles. i. 4–8.

[3] Upon which Qoheleth then bases a second main proof of his proposition from i. 12 onwards.

there is only a step to the denial or rejection of all wonders. But Qoheleth guards himself against so great an offence against all true piety,[1] and nowhere speaks of wonders at all, or indeed of the wonders of God, still less does he deny them. And soon enough in the course of its great history there came for this ancient community wholly other times; and at the beginning of Christianity not simply were the earlier wonders repeated, but wonders of far higher and more spiritual type awoke the surprise of all who had eyes to see them.

2. There are, to be sure, many instances of what the world calls wonders, and they are of infinite variety in character. The busy art of apt and clever men and the easy credulity of the people tended to increase their number. How the word was misused in early times, when already a very high national culture existed, is seen in Egyptian history as we know it from the biography of Moses in the Pentateuch. The true religion, however, from the first favours the right view of all that can be called "wonders," and the Bible appropriately distinguishes three chief kinds:—(*a*) There are wonders of creation or Nature, as well in the material world as earthquakes, as in the animal and human worlds. There are obscure phenomena surprising the mind or painfully affecting the whole man, whether momentarily and irresistibly as the earthquake, or gradually and by calm reflection as the wonder of the spirit of man itself and its connection with God. To this latter phenomenon the most thoughtful of the Psalmists points;[2] and indeed the longer it is pondered the more wonderful it seems. Of all these wonders the Bible teaches that they should lead man to recognise the more fully the power of God and the grandeur of His work;[3] not that they should give rise to any kind of superstition or despair, but rather that like everything else in creation, and each in its own way, they should

[1] How far away does the wise Qoheleth stand from all present-day blank doubters or foolish deniers of the Biblical wonders!

[2] Ps. cxxxix. 5, 13.

[3] What on this point Christ teaches tersely and decisively in two words, John ix. 3, cf. 34, the whole Bible teaches also at least in its main principle.

contribute to the larger knowledge of God Himself, and the more complete realization of His rule throughout the universe.

(*b*) There are other wonders which are seen in human history in rare and mighty movements and transformations, when the latent forces of the human spirit are roused to action and charged with the power of the divine spirit; wonders which in their course, and especially in their brilliant and splendid issues, show themselves in different ways according to the nature of such powerful historic impulses, but are all alike in the irresistible energy they manifest. The chief examples of such wonders are found in the history of the origin of the Old Testament community and of the formation of the New Testament community, while in the intermediate period something of a similar character occurs. Spiritual wonders here come forth to view, and in their light all wonders of the outward world first become plain. But such wonders, according to express intimations everywhere given in the Bible, should induce men the more certainly to mark the reality and the eternal progress of the divine order of the world; and if such recognition is more likely to arise in the minds of immediate contemporaries, the more carefully will succeeding generations reflect upon the wonders of past days that in all freshness of feeling such lesson may be learnt anew.[1] For in proportion as the bright image of the constant divine order of the world and its progress is obscured by error and doubt and the bewildering effects of sin, and withdrawn from man's view, the more beneficially will the thought of it again and again be recalled, and if by nothing else, at least by the fact of the occurrence of such wonders.

(*c*) There are also men whose work, nay whose very presence and life on earth, are themselves a wonder. The spiritual forces of twofold origin, of which we have just spoken, may meet in them, raised to an extraordinary degree of power, may gather up their strength for large and fruitful issues, and flash forth light and radiance far and wide as

[1] As the example of Ex. xii. 26–28 may show.

from the hearth of a mighty and glowing fire. Moreover, as with the human spirit so here, an infinite gradation of stages of energy and activity may occur. The sphere also in which such deeds of wonder are displayed may vary with the wants of the age or the needs of living individual men. From Moses onward through the long series of prophets to Christ, and from Christ downwards to the last of the apostles, what manifold diversity and gradations appear! Since now the human and divine spirit as in their most secret laboratory touch and blend and work actively together in these wonders, they are primarily wonders of the spirit. Such wonders only men of corresponding capability of spirit can understand, as indeed is the case with all wonders; but the perversity of men may lead them to interneddle and foolishly mix themselves up with what is beyond the range of their power. It was felt in the whole of antiquity that wonders of the spirit were especially to be expected of the prophets, and the life of Moses shows how early heathen prophets sought to intrude amid such wonders their own merely insidious arts and evil aims.[1] As with everything spiritual that shows itself with creative energy, so with real wonders of this kind, they arise and surprise the world without the preconcerted planning and devising of the men who are their instruments. Only as such do these wonders demonstrate that there are divine forces of which man may prefer perhaps not to think at all, and demonstrate their existence and cooperation in a higher order of the world all the more definitely and impressively the more the doctrine and the rest of the life of the man from whom these wonders gleam forth, already announce it of themselves. But clearly as wonders of this kind may point to what stands above them, nevertheless those previously mentioned, which may be designated as immediately

[1] To understand exactly the conflict between Moses and the magicians of Egypt (Ex. iii.–xii. 36) is here of great importance. It is the one conflict between all false and true religion, a conflict conducted on the one hand by unspiritual, on the other by spiritual weapons, and in which people, king, and government were alike involved.

the wonders of God in history, are necessarily of still weightier and more universal significance.[1]

3. Furthermore, subsequent generations began to contemplate the great wonders detailed in the old writings, rather in relation only to what is wonderful in narrative, and to make use of them as material for the praise of God, the leader and guide of His people. The greater the distance from the grand days of their ancestors, and the less favoured in circumstances they felt themselves in comparison, the more fondly did they revel in such contemplations, as we see in some later portions of the Old Testament.[2] The Greek lovers of wisdom, on the contrary, especially after the time of Aristotle, were accustomed to contemplate the whole creation altogether apart from God. They regarded everything according to its visible qualities and hidden powers, and called the inner constitution and life of a thing, as inborn with it and invariable, its Physis, or in Latin, *natura*. The true relation and state in which all conceivable things stood was then designated also by the same term;[3] and at length instead of "creation," or the "world," they said at once "nature."[4] After the creation had thus been separated from God many began to explain the Biblical wonders, especially those of the Old Testament, as if God had constrained nature to suffer

[1] As according to John's profound conception of Christ's miracles is actually felt. Cf. *Die Johan. Schriften*, i. 29, 415 ff.

[2] The oldest and at the same time briefest instance of the kind is the addition of the Deuteronomist to Joshua, viz. Josh. x. 13*b*-14. Cf. *History*, ii. 251. Then follow such picturings as in Wisd. xvi. 24 f., 27 f., xix. 5–7, 17–21; and the much longer instances of the kind in Philo, which indeed may be called sermons. After Christ the Rabbis came with their מִדְרָשׁ.

[3] The use of the word φύσις is altogether foreign to all the Gospels, so certainly is its import not genuinely Hebrew. Paul introduces such thoughts and phrases as "nature teaches," 1 Cor. xi. 14; cf. Rom. i. 26, ii. 14, xi. 21–24; Gal. iv. 8; then Jas. iii. 7; 2 Pet. ii. 4. According to the very essence of the true religion, "nature" was most readily seen or made prominent in human things, where spirit was not found, or at least did not come into question, as in Gal. ii. 15, Rom. ii. 27; so the Epistle to the Ephesians (ii. 3) calls those not born again, "by nature children of" divine "anger," towards whom, because they despise Him, God can only be angry.

[4] So first 4 Macc. v. 7 f., no doubt in the best sense, "the love-gifts of nature."

them or to help to produce them. But such representations could arise only in the Hellenistic age.[1] The Old Testament in its ancient and grandest time calls everything which Greek philosophers termed nature, rather "law of God," [2] and regards it as self-evident that the Lawgiver will not violate His own law, and that God will not act from caprice or exigency as if He were frail and fallible man. As soon therefore as Christianity entered the world, a fresh and healthy experience and view of things returned, and the mind no longer delights in a merely wondering or perhaps subtle and rationalistic contemplation of the old yet sacred narratives; and in the New Testament we meet with nothing of the kind. So much the more then are we entitled to-day, when a thousand reasons urge us to careful investigation and thorough understanding of the historical parts of the Bible, to distinguish in the wonders recorded the essential matter-of-fact from the mere narrative; and never to forget that with the Biblical narratives this is even the more necessary, the higher the estimate we form of their value as aids to the knowledge of all true religion, and the more we would build upon them, in harmony with such knowledge, a sound and intelligent faith.[3] Meanwhile, all experience hitherto teaches that the Biblical narratives of deeds of wonder have nothing to fear from the keenest scientific inquiry, if only the nature and significance of the wonders themselves are not at the outset misapprehended, and the historical investigation is not superficially

[1] In the B. Wisd. xvi. 24 is first found the representation of a wonder as an instance in which the creation, κτίσις, or as we now say "nature," gave way or yielded, compelled by the Creator. Thus what in the Old Testament is expressed merely poetically is made into a doctrine of the schools, and thereby, as the words show, becomes something essentially different.

[2] חֹק or מִשְׁפָּט, as Job xxxviii. 33; Jer. v. 22, xxxi. 35, xxxiii. 25; cf. Isa. v. 14.

[3] If this primary and direct reason should not suffice in the view of some of our contemporaries, the deviations which so often occur in the different narratives of the same event, compel us, as is well known, to seek the historical basis; and in so far the compilers of the Canon, in admitting such different narratives, were of broader and wiser mind than some of our present-day critics who misunderstand and pervert the Bible.

conducted, or the judgment warped by prejudice. In all such researches, the result will show what are the strictly historical contents that each particular narrative or group of narratives may be found to possess.[1] The more highly significant a wonder related in the Bible has proved or may yet prove itself in its bearing upon the mood and tendency of the human spirit, the more necessary is it to remember that it has a wholly special and immediate reference to the minds of those whom it first impressed, and retains its true importance and significance only in that relation. In the Old Testament there is no wonder of more powerful effect at the moment of its occurrence, and none of mightier subsequent influence, than that which made the deliverance of Israel at the Red Sea under Moses the consecration-day of the community of the true religion. It may first of all have been known to the nation in that rare and lofty mood of mind which finds corresponding expression in the well-known song;[2] but it does not lose thereby its significance for the faith of a whole community in the actual existence and power of the divine order of the world. It may have been brought forward in new form by later hands again and again in the attempt to disclose anew freshly and vividly to a subsequent age its abiding significance;[3] even then its original force and meaning, and the eternal truth it embodies, do not suffer, if simply and firmly grasped, notwithstanding all later representations with their diverse and easily misleading ideas. Or the actual experience may possibly have occurred at a time when an unusual ebb and

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flow of the tide in the bay, and an unusual lofty and intense spiritual mood of the people combined together to produce at a critical moment a most decisive influence upon the whole history, not merely of these two nations, but of the progress of the true religion, raising to the highest degree of power confidence in the divine salvation of all loyal servants of God, even though well-nigh lost in the depths of despair; but not even then would its significance be destroyed. And much the same is it in the New Testament with respect to the resurrection of Christ, which John rightly regards as standing above all the wonders Christ Himself accomplished, because it occurred through no hand of man, not even Christ's, but was experienced by Him and known to His disciples as the purely divine issue of the highest intercommunion and fellowship of the Spirit of God with the human spirit, when the outward and visible occasion to such issue had quite disappeared.

There are to-day scholars so infatuated and so blind to the wonders of the Bible that they wholly refuse to admit their reality, and would consequently extirpate the word miracle from all ancient and modern tongues. But the divine order of the world and its progress, to which all Biblical wonders point, is itself the supreme and only true wonder for men. Every instance of it, however small, is a wonder;[1] how much more the whole sweep of it! He who has no feeling of wonder for that which is divine, and would quench the light that shines from the universe to illumine our dim spiritual vision, has already lost the best elements of that higher nature with which man is endowed.

[In a note in another part of this work, Ewald says: "The supposition that 'the wonder' breaks or suspends the laws of nature is wholly remote from the living sense of the

[1] As those words in Ps. cxxxix. 5, 13 with such depth and true emotion prove; whilst an apostle expresses himself somewhat in the same strain in Rom. xi. 33 f. But not less suitable here are the words in Job xi. 7–9, xxxviii. 6 ff.; B. Isa. xl. 13 f., xlv. 15.

Bible, and is one of those over-subtle scholastic opinions which arose in the Middle Ages and obtained currency amidst a pedantic coldness of understanding. The Bible knows nothing of laws of nature as opposed to divine laws; how can it therefore suppose 'the wonder' should interrupt or disturb these divine laws?"—ii. p. 115. Cf. *Revelation; its Nature and Record*, pp. 238–240.

The following passages from the *History* are amongst those referred to by Ewald in the notes: "What constitutes the grandeur of this history (the Passage of the Red Sea) so rapidly attained is that now the entire people, as by external power and visible proofs, discern the true spiritual God as their actual Lord and Redeemer, and thus an unbounded joyous spirit is aroused to know still more of His truths and His laws, to desire His sole guidance, and to dare the uttermost under such leadership. Gleams of sunlight such as these are rare in the history of the world, still rarer in that of single nations; and with regard to that event we are sadly deficient in the completeness of the remembrances. But the day of Marathon, and that of Salamis, cannot have shone so brightly on the earth, nor kindled upon it such a light as this day, which might truly be named the baptismal day of the true community."—*History*, ii. 72.

"The province of religion is always the province of miracles also, because it is that of pure and strong faith in the presence and operation of heavenly forces actually as well as passively; where, therefore, true religion makes the most powerful efforts, there will be a corresponding display of miracles which will either actually take place through the activity of the believing spirit, or will at any rate be experienced by the believing heart; while to be vividly penetrated, though only from a distance, with the might of such forces is itself a gain. Thus far the age of Elijah and Elisha, when the true religion was obliged to maintain itself with the utmost force against its internal enemies, was as rich in miracles as the days of Moses and Joshua, or the conclusion of the period of the Judges had been; only these miracles do not now as in the time of Moses and Joshua affect the whole nation, nor as in the era of the last Judges are they directed against a foreign people, but they proceed from a few individual prophets, who

are compelled as instruments of the ancient religion to exert all the greater power, as in the nation itself the true faith threatens to disappear. No such stories can be anything more than scattered traces of the action of a spirit in itself miraculous, and of the impression immediately produced by it; but that there is some spirit of power in religion, to the agency of which they all point, is only the more certain." —*Ibid.* iv. 83 f.

"But in the case of Christ, His ordinary daily work was itself an unbroken series of deeds of power; what therefore must those deeds have been which in certain rare moments rose above His ordinary labours as from the combined force of His spiritual powers which had been called into the greatest activity!"—*Ibid.* vii. 226.

"But although Jesus might publicly perform a deed of power, He never did it with a view to show thereby that He was invested with regal authority and to attain thereby some special object, as if He required such outward striking proofs of His divine vocation as the Messiah. Simply as urged by love and compassion did He give help by His deeds as the moment called for it; and every one of His deeds of power, whether it was the smallest or the greatest, was always at the same time a deed of love. . . . Not one of them was performed in order to arouse the attention of the people and fix it upon the worker . . . nor, as with the ancient prophets, to induce in the first instance faith in His words, or supply a preliminary proof of them; . . . rather did He rebuke sternly all who demanded or even expected that He must first by His miraculous deeds prove before their eyes that He was the Christ."—*Ibid.* 228.

"This very circumstance of His touching and laying His hands on the sufferer, and of His seeking to be disturbed as little as possible during the healing act, points to the fact that His human operation, as need hardly be remarked, was regulated by the general laws of the divine order of the world, and that He by no means sought presumptuously to supersede them."—*Ibid.* 225.

"Primarily we may say it was the whole spirit of Christ that was operative in this case also, and which likewise sought to influence as powerfully as possible the spirit of the

sufferer before all things. As nothing but the purest and most soul-absorbing faith in the ultimate celestial Healer inspired Him, always conscious as He was of the measure and aim of His powers of healing, and a previous glance to heaven, enlightened and strengthened Him for the actual work, so likewise He required before all things, if his healing act was to be effective, faith in the presence of the perfected kingdom of God, with all its boundless forces and powers; and neither could nor would heal where He did not find such faith."—*Ibid.* 224.]

XIII. THE NATURE AND OFFICE OF FAITH.

§ 300. In the attitude of mind repentance and regeneration give, scarcely has man entered on the way leading to the true salvation but he learns by experience how difficult that way is. From two very different causes the chief difficulty may be said to arise. On the one hand, he may be surprised by thoughts and even deeds that do not spring from the tendency of the new purity and strength, but from that of the old impurity and weakness leading to sin. For the spirit of the individual man in every new period and situation must take up a new position against inner and outer temptations, and may too easily fall back again into its old position, as Peter's defections show. On the other hand, as the power of that which is good, established by the conflict of all who in the world of mankind have made progress upon the right way, forms one united source of influence, so also is it with the power of evil; and he who finds the right way must be prepared to discover that this whole power of evil as it still lives and may continually augment its energy in the world, may turn itself against him. Whilst therefore he has to fight that he may not fall back again into earlier errors and perversities, the forces and continuous issues of evil outside him may throw themselves upon him with the more vehemence, the more necessarily in the midst of the course of the

world all human things have indissoluble affinity and fellowship with each other as against the will of the individual man. Just in this the severest strain begins to be felt by all who will not forsake the right way to God; as indeed not only the Bible but all experience testifies.

But when once man stands at the beginning of the right way in that mood of mind that springs from repentance and the new birth, there meets him as it were spontaneously a new power wonderfully invigorating and defensive, viz. faith. For the general capability of faith, that of holding as true and reliable what is not seen or possessed, and even in spite of its not being seen or possessed, is one of the many capabilities and powers of mind peculiar to man, and also one of the best and most prominent proofs that with man everything ultimately depends on mind alone. In the lower relations of human life, and with every fundamental effort and tendency of the human mind towards some higher aim, faith has a significance which no other quality of character can bear. So is it most emphatically in the lofty and direct relation between God and man; and, indeed, only he who is accustomed to cherish and value faith in this loftier sphere of religion will exercise it also in the lower relations of life, and value it highly wherever it is found. At this point, however, we may distinctly mark, where in the loftier sphere faith must take its place, where it has its proper claim to act, and where also it can unfold the power peculiarly its own. In fact, just at the outset of man's religious life, faith must become a quickening and impelling power, or it will never become such. For when a man really sets foot on the way to God, he has found the way upon which also God Himself moves, and upon which with Him the eternal order of the world has its course; the way which corresponding to the divine aim of creation will lead man to salvation. It is here that man may become so possessed and inspired by the highest divine truth and its whole mighty energy, that he shall never again abandon that truth, and always be conscious of its energy

working effectively within him. He who has once appropriated as an impelling force the truth that God actually exists and that human life must follow His will alone, and who clings with unvarying constancy to this conviction, is also possessed and influenced by the power of all the divine forces to which his spirit has now drawn nigh, and in communion with which he now lives. This is the faith which in its necessity and its whole wonderful energy has its true place here, and must here at the initial stage begin to act for the advancement of the whole spiritual life. It stands thus as a power of the human spirit side by side with conscience, but presupposes as already given the truth which conscience recognises as certain and necessary, and to which with its inner voice it gives expression; and it holds fast this truth in all subsequent life and effort as sure and irrefragable. Faith borders closely upon fidelity and confidence;[1] as to its essential nature, it is loyal and firm adherence, against all difficulties and opposition and in the whole of this present existence, to all the truths and forces of the divine life as that life should be realized among men; but as a power it is the true stay and firm impregnable defence of the way to God upon which man already moves. Where both elements combine, it is also in its manifestation a clear proof, over against all doubt and unbelief, of things the outward eye may neither see nor find, but which nevertheless most surely exist.[2]

§ 301. If now faith derives its power from the truth it appropriates, and from those forces which may lie in every truth that man has received with living freshness into his mind, it is evident that the energy of faith is the more indestructible and enduring, and just on this account the more salutary and beneficial, the higher the fundamental

[1] Both meanings are contained in the Hebrew word אֱמוּנָה, which the LXX. quite commonly translate by πίστις. In Latin with *credo* there stands as a noun *fides*; in Greek with πίστις = *fides*, there stands as a verb πιστεύω.

[2] Heb. xi. 1.

truth rises in which a religion lives and moves. For heathenism has also its faith, a faith of high antiquity, finely, artistically, and in many aspects of it even soundly developed, like the Indian and ancient Persian; Islam, too, finds its faith even to-day. But only the true religion gives the basis of a faith that through all experiences and changes in the world is just as incapable of decay as it is promotive of the eternal ways of God with men, and as in the course of the ages it is more and more widely the conqueror of human hearts. Such a faith was established by the founding of the community of the true religion under Moses, the earliest antiquity affording the prelude to it; this is the teaching of history. But the significance of faith itself became gradually more manifest in this community, and the comprehension of its value and its indispensable necessity more complete. Little is said of it, however, so long as the true religion energetically maintains itself in its first mighty confidence, when religion was the very life of the community.[1] But as soon as the clear-shining day begins to decline, and with the division of the Davidic kingdom there is weakness without and dissolution of the essential vigour of the higher faith within, and an irrepressible feeling of some inherent deficiency prevails, then the wonderful nature and unique power of faith are recognised more and more clearly, and the demand for faith becomes the frequent and definite demand of the best of the prophets.[2] Indeed, at this time in the high places of society, through the influence of perverse schools of wisdom, faith was so honeycombed with decay that the greatest and most

[1] The Old Testament proverbial wisdom, which presupposes faith but nowhere makes it the subject of its teaching, shows thereby its early growth. On the contrary, the Book of Origins speaks not only of the unbelief of the people, but relates vividly enough how the faith of Moses and Aaron was not on every occasion perfect and complete; Num. xiv. 11, xx. 1–13; so persistently and surely did memory recall the fact that only by the power of faith had the community been first founded, and that the higher the position of men in the community the greater is the detriment the least want of it occasions. The noble expression in Ps. xxvii. 13 is also ancient.

[2] So in reality of all the prophets, but especially according to the words of Isa. vii. 9, 11–13, xxviii. 16.

powerful of the prophets summoned up all the deepest energies of his soul in the attempt to resuscitate it both in the people and the king. But by a most memorable example it was then shown how little true and living faith can be called forth even at the bidding of a great prophet, even with all his mightiest energy of mind, when at the same time all fruitful soil for its growth is really wanting.[1] At this period also the longing to see faith actually at work as well in its spontaneity as in its power and success, took refuge as it were provisionally in the remembrance of the sublime prototypes of the primitive history, and produced a sketch and model of genuine faith,[2] as pre-eminent in Abraham's life, which could never be forgotten, and in all succeeding centuries exerted a powerful influence. During the founding of the new Jerusalem, a time full of trial and difficulty, the more readily did there break forth in inspired words with the unquenchable ardour of deep feeling, the new power of a real and true faith.[3]

Thus, then, though there is little of the word, there is much of the reality of faith in the Old Testament; indeed, it is full of genuine examples of it. But all these accumulated reminiscences of the necessity and supereminent power of faith would have been ultimately without abiding result had not Christ first unfolded the supreme power of faith which is possible to man. He it was who made it manifest in the highest distinctness before all the world; and

[1] This is the high significance of Isaiah's seeking so often to overcome the unbelief of people and king by a wonderful sign, Isa. vii. 11, viii. 1-4, xxxvii. 30 f., xxxviii. 7 f.; once, however, and precisely in the instance which is in itself of the utmost importance, and upon which he had himself laid the strongest emphasis, he saw that he was deceived by the absolute unbelief of the king, vii. 11-13. Cf. *Prophets*, i. 47, ii. 13, 81 ff. Cf. also the words of the somewhat later prophet, B. Isa. liii. 1.

[2] Gen. xv. 1-xxii. 19. The Fifth Narrator of the primitive history thus makes faith conspicuous, and regards it in its extreme importance as the chief and crowning excellence of the humanly-divine life, not in the example of Abraham only, Gen. xv. 6, but also in that of Moses, Ex. iv. 1-9, xix. 9. The Deuteronomist follows him, Deut. i. 32, ix. 23.

[3] Ps. cxvi. 10, where faith simply and alone streams forth in briefest utterance as the impulse and power realized in the deepest self-consciousness of the Psalmist. Cf. moreover Ps. cxix. 66, cvi. 12; Jonah iii. 5.

He did it in the whole phenomena of His life, as much by His least as by His greatest acts. As He lived in it as the element of His power, and knew most intimately its all-conquering might, so also He distinguishes it continually by the high praise it deserves,[1] and presents it uniformly by word and deed as the primary and indispensable qualification for all who would follow in the way He has traced out. Subsequently every word from His immediate disciples, which has passed into the New Testament,[2] shows what a pure and inexhaustible energy of faith has come from Him into the world, an energy, indeed, transformed at once in His own disciples into glowing enthusiasm and gifts of ready service, through which alone the entire human race may be led to find and keep the way to God. Now only does faith become what from the first it was intended to become, the purest and most persistent power for the transformation and perfecting of humanity, that it may pursue its divine end throughout the ages of time until the final goal is won.

XIV. THE TWOFOLD CONTENTS OF FAITH.

§ 302. Fully to recognise the true indwelling power of faith, there must be a proper estimate on the one hand of its twofold contents, on the other of its spontaneity, for without

[1] Such short occasional words may be mentioned, as Mark i. 15, ii. 5, iv. 40, v. 34–36, ix. 23–42, x. 52, xi. 23–31; Matt. viii. 13, ix. 28 f., xv. 28; Luke xxi. 22–32, xviii. 8, xxii. 32; and such more definite expressions as Matt. xxi. 21 f.; Luke xvii. 5 f.

[2] Excepting in his Epistle (1 John v. 4), where it sounds like a watchword of Christians of his time, John nowhere uses the word πίστις, not even in the utterances of Christ. This, however, is merely a peculiarity of his; for in no New Testament writings is so much said of practical faith, πιστεύειν, and in such clear words as in his Gospel, and everywhere in the utterances of Christ, excepting where at the beginning and at the end the apostle incidentally shows that with Christians faith is everything, i. 7, 12, xx. 31; whilst in his Epistle he speaks about it as Paul in his. The same may be said of the First Epistle of Peter, and of the Epistle of James. The praise of faith which is rehearsed in the Epistle to the Hebrews (xi.), from Old Testament times, rivals Paul's praise of love, 1 Cor. xiii.

such spontaneity it cannot exercise the influence peculiar to it. In contemplating the whole wide manifold contents which faith, in the sense in which we here speak of it, includes in itself, the two aspects it has for those who possess it must be carefully distinguished.

I. 1. Faith grasps and appropriates the whole treasure of assured truths which conduct and maintain the individual man on the way to God; and it also uplifts him into full personal participation in the inspiring force of such truths. That is to say, the various truths already surely won, which our whole discussion seeks to expound, form the firm ground and basis of the contents of faith. The whole circle of these truths may be variously expressed in a short series of significant propositions, and of such expression many passages of the Bible afford the example and justification. Yet to attempt to give a condensation of all truth in this place would not be so relevant as in our discussion of the nature and office of the Church; since such brief summaries have their value and use mainly in religious instruction and culture. But as certainly as all these truths are only the detailed statement of the fundamental thought, and indeed the foundation of all true religion, so certainly may the entire contents of faith be summed up in a single phrase, as the Bible shows, and that single phrase is, "faith in God."[1] In this as in a germ lie involved all the separate propositions of faith, for without a sure and just knowledge of the true God nothing in detail can here be known and believed, but with it everything else is already given. Moreover, so far as faith is an active principle, it must turn to God especially, and without Him no details in this whole province can be properly conceived. If, then, when we look to their sure foundation, all the separate propositions which form the contents of faith are held valid by us as truths, all at last also fall as one inclusive Whole

[1] πίστις θεοῦ, Mark xi. 22; for that the addition of θεοῦ is only meant to characterize πίστις somewhat more particularly is shown by what follows in ver. 23. Similarly in 1 Pet. i. 21, true faith in relation to a known fact is more particularly limited by reference to God.

under the idea of "truth" itself; as indeed in the proper place the Bible represents them;[1] and appropriately enough, for of all that must be held by man in idea and thought as truth, the truths of faith are the most profound and comprehensive, and without them we could characterize nothing whatever as true.

2. In order to understand the latter remark, we must here more closely follow out the idea of the truth. This idea coincides in Hebrew, as in many other tongues, with the idea of the reliable, the non-deceptive; but if we ask why something appears to us reliable and true, we can only answer because it falls short in nothing of what we presuppose to be right and are ready to rely upon because it is right; so that it may be said truth is the agreement of actual fact with the thought of it.[2] From this it is seen at once how closely faith is connected with all that we call truth, nay, how inseparable these two ideas are from one another, as well in the smallest matters of sense as in the greatest and most purely spiritual things. If this be so, he alone who accustoms himself to truth in the highest and most spiritual subjects of our thought and action, and allows his faith to move only in the limits and conditions of truth, will also in the more common and sensuous things seek the true everywhere, and find it most readily. On the other hand, if our mind were from the first

[1] For in such expressions as ἡ ὑπακοὴ τῆς ἀληθείας, 1 Pet. i. 22, with which ὑπακούειν τῇ πίστει, Acts vi. 7, interchanges, and the reverse, τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πείθεσθαι, Gal. iii. 1, according to the earlier and perhaps still correct reading, and v. 7, and also in Rom. ii. 8, 20, "the truth" is only the more particular definition of all that is to be believed.

[2] Cf. § 212 [where Ewald says: "We call that true upon which we can surely and firmly rely, in opposition to all possible kinds of deception and falsehood; and that this is the original signification of the word true, follows from its derivation in most languages. If it be asked further in what respect anything, whether a mere thought, or a narrative, or a matter that has to be more particularly understood and investigated, becomes for man so reliable that he may in his mind build further upon its sure basis, one can only answer, the conviction that all the parts or aspects that come into consideration are in full agreement with the Whole of our thought, or, in other words, the discernment or knowledge that the matter must be so and not otherwise, is for us the mark of its truth; and only thus are we convinced of the truth of a narrative, if we are to look beyond the mere narrator."]

so bounded and conditioned that it could not believe purely spiritual and highest truth, and make infinite progress in this belief, nay more, could not continually acquire accurate knowledge of new things and appropriate them into its faith, it would be incapable also of knowing even the most meagre and sensuous thing with sufficient certainty to build upon it in faith, and to strive in some kind of belief to make headway, whether in what is good or what is the very worst.

But in all this there lies the necessary bounding and limitation of the material contents of the faith we here discuss. Define this faith, if you will, as briefly faith in God, which every man should possess, or make the idea of it equivalent to the idea of the truth, it is at once apparent that nothing can be taken up into it which is repugnant to the conception of the true God, or incompatible with the truth itself. Suppose now that according to the first three Gospels, Christ did not speak of the truth in this sense at all,[1] since it was the very thing itself that in all He said and did He sought to establish in the world of mankind as it had never been manifest before; yet it does not certainly follow from this omission that there were no occasions whatever upon which He spoke of it.[2] But it is readily understood why, subsequently, with the more definiteness and frequency His disciples spoke of it in that higher sense, and no one with such wide, far-reaching comprehension of the theme and such lofty elevation of tone, nor so repeatedly, as John.[3] How little they err, and indeed the whole Bible with them, con-

[1] This is certainly remarkable, and in one aspect very characteristic.

[2] In John, apart from the introduction, i. 14, 17, "the truth" in this higher sense is only mentioned, iii. 21 (where it is the apostle himself almost that speaks), iv. 23 f., viii. 32–46, xiv. 6, 17, xv. 26, xvi. 13, xvii. 17–19, xviii. 37; cf. with the sentence "God is true," iii. 33, viii. 26. Far more frequently is it repeated in all his Epistles. But James agrees in this with John, as also Peter; Jas. i. 18, iii. 14, v. 19; 1 Pet. i. 21. Putting all this together, it would be foolish to suppose Christ Himself never spoke of "the truth" in the hearing of His disciples.

[3] Paul, on the contrary, speaks of "the truth" much less than John, and not by any means in such creative thoughts and expressions. Somewhat more as in John the phrase occurs in the Epistle to the Ephesians and the Pastoral

cerning that which they distinguish by the one short watch-word, "the truth," this whole section is the sufficient proof. The truth had now become a power among men as it had never been before,—a power that, as if it were equal in creative force with the Word or Spirit of God, was bringing from its own womb to a new and glorious birth the humanity that was steeped in hypocrisy and untruth.[1]

Furthermore, we have here the touchstone for every principle or tenet that since Biblical times has sought to enter into this circle,[2] and to increase our great and ancient treasure of truth.

3. If, however, we consider more closely the particular contents of faith so far as they may have arisen in their definite form historically, there is nothing more certain than that every historical element in faith possesses just as great significance as does the series of pure truths itself. For the light of these truths first shines upon man from the history associated with them, and the mighty energy with which they work among men owes the beginning of its activity to those in whose lives it first became vividly manifest. If the Biblical religion comprehends a large deposit of old inherited truths, nevertheless Moses and all the men of God who directly succeeded him in the Old Testament, and Christ with His disciples in the New, show to us how the highest truths and forces of the genuine and ultimately the perfect faith, actually enter into the world to become the salvation of all who, yielding to their influence, seek to obey the will of God. All the pure truths in this province are inseparable so far from

Epistles. In 2 Pet. "the present truth," i. 12, viz. the truth that has been manifest and abides among men since Christ, is a new phrase, as also "the way of truth," ii. 2.

[1] The most striking phrase which comes from this train of thought is, "He who is of the truth," John xviii. 37, *i.e.* he who is begotten and born again of the truth, as is often said in John elsewhere. Had not Pilate, a philosophically cultured man, been the hearer, Christ would have rather said, according to John viii. 47, 1 John iv. 6, "He who is of God." But John himself uses the phrase "of the truth," 1 John iii. 19.

[2] § 42, *Revelation; its Nature and Record*, pp. 118–123.

the lofty historical figures that appear in connection with their rise and establishment. As Buddhism without Buddha, as Islam without Mohammed, would be nothing, each needing the continual retrospect to the life and sayings of its founder; just as little, nay, even still less, would Christianity be anything without the life of Christ and its abiding spiritual continuance, and the lives of His forerunners and successors in the faith, so comprehensively presented in the Bible. Nevertheless, we are not with this admission to overlook the fact that pure divine truths, since they are given by God Himself, and through the divine order of the world, are always higher than even the very highest that appears in the transient visible phenomena of human history; and that therefore they are never exhaustively presented in the details of actual history, although indeed the loftiest summits of truth seek supports and bases for belief in visible phenomena and historical reminiscence. For obvious though it may be that in the true religion faith has to do with things essentially divine, yet it would fain have marks and tokens of the actual presence of the Divine in what is evident and palpable to the sense. Thus, then, a particular historical phenomenon or reminiscence serves to faith as a basis and support for truth which stands high above all historical phenomena, as examples already given demonstrate.[1] Failure to make this distinction, failure to separate in profounder reflection between what is sensuous and what is supersensuous without forgetting that both may nevertheless touch and unite in faith, has given occasion for the intrusion of grave errors; while, indeed, the spontaneity of faith, though it is the lever of its power, may yet ultimately admit of such result.

But when once faith in a general truth, of incomparable significance and moment, has become associated with such a particular historical phenomenon and reminiscence, the truth itself, like all pure truth, may make immeasurable progress and acquire further enlargement from its own inherent

[1] § 282, pp. 212-220.

energy. It has found at length a firm settlement from which it can freely unfold itself, in harmony with its own essential contents; and faith must then be directed to these essential contents of the truth and to the peculiar importance of the truth itself. It is, however, always of advantage never to confound such truth with the particular portion of historical reminiscence which served as the means of its first establishment, nor again this with it. The Bible itself, however, affords us plain guidance as to the way of procedure with such contents of faith.[1] The faith must not be allowed to suffer, but its historical and its eternal ground must be distinctly recognised and carefully distinguished.

§ 303. Such, objectively considered, are the contents of faith as comprehended in its unity and embracing all its separate constituent parts.

II. Let us now turn to the case of the individual man in whom faith has attained a living efficacy, who has not merely taken up the truth just described into his memory, but who, in the bold words of the last great disciple of Christ, "does it";[2] or whom, according to the phrase of the same disciple in another passage, "the spirit of truth"[3] inspires and moves. Such a man, whose spirit, now no longer his own, is touched and led by the Divine Spirit, will feel himself uplifted into the free elevation of the way to God, and from such elevation will behold himself received into the living course and movement of the divine grace and the eternal order of the world, in which men are borne onwards towards their final goal. It is only faith which feels itself so sustained and upheld in the world by God, and which looks from the point of view His own Spirit and grace give into the temporal connection

[1] By way of example, one may here look at the manner in which the original apprehension of the history of Israel's passage through the Red Sea was expanded in subsequent centuries; or that in which the Apostle John relates in his Gospel (xx.) the corresponding event in the New Testament, the resurrection of Christ, which similarly divides and unites two worlds. (Cf. *Johan. Schriften*, i. p. 419.)

[2] John iii. 21; 1 John i. 6.

[3] 1 John iv. 6, cf. v. 6, and likewise John's Gospel, xvi. 13.

and the impelling energy of the eternal divine work by whose power it is consciously invigorated. But this is in reality one of the actual contents of faith, and forms its higher or purely divine half. That the divine strength and grace are in a special manner present with individual men, the Bible indicates from beginning to end.[1] The clearest historical phenomena establish this as a fact of experience. But how faith looks down into all times from its rest in God now won, is here to be shown more particularly, from traces scattered up and down in the Bible.

1. Looking from its elevation into the immediate present, faith sees, first of all, the power of sin broken. It realizes that before God everywhere in the world the power of sin is for ever condemned and for ever broken; but especially is this power recognised as broken in the body itself close at hand. The individual man has now not merely heard from afar the old words and sayings concerning the pardoning love of God, and realized from the doctrine that God is love something of the inexhaustible efficacy of the divine compassion and forgiveness; he also perceives that the more he calmly collects himself anew by faith in the power of divine truth, and is consciously led by the clearness of that truth upon the way to God, the more surely the new thoughts and resolves that arise within him may be deemed the joyful tokens and pledges that the divine forgiveness is not to remain with him a mere empty phrase. This is the mood of mind charged with the new energy of faith which at an early period found in the Old Testament inspired expression in a song [2] which is for ever true to experience, and which did not spring so much from the stern conflict of faith [3] as from the blessed and restful confidence in God that had now been wholly regained. It is true, however, that the evil consequences of past sin, so far as they may still work on in the world, are

[1] From Gen. xxxix. 21 in the case of Joseph onwards to believers of the New Testament, in relation to whom, in short, the phrase in Mark xvi. 20 fully applies, with its characteristic *συνεργεῖν*, *i.e.* God working together with them.

[2] Ps. xxxii. [3] Ps. li.

not thereby removed, but certainly the courage and the resolute sense of obligation to contend against them with all the power of the soul are wonderfully strengthened. For, in point of fact, the feeling of having been delivered from the darkness and the oppressive burden of the consciousness of guilt does not of itself alone suffice. If this consciousness were real and genuine, on all sides clear and distinct, it must lead to that which is higher and better, in which man's spirit is fully "reconciled" with the divine Spirit, all disturbance, estrangement, and hostility removed, and an enduring "peace" with God obtained,—a peace which alone can give a happy assurance for the present, a peaceful retrospect of the past, and a confident trust for all future progress upon the way to God. The old Hebrew tongue is, it is true, rich enough in expressions for the idea of "reconciliation," for from very primitive times this idea had entered into the practice of civil right, and then after the Mosaic period had been taken up with a much higher significance by the priestly administration concerned with the task of putting the community in the position of freedom from guilt.[1] Nowhere in antiquity could there be a more careful and solicitous discharge of this duty than was found in Israel. But far more striking than these ancient expressions were those derived from the idea of peace, which the great prophets introduced into this province of faith, and which ultimately in the New Testament became more and more predominant.[2]

[1] The original and ancient expression for "reconcile," כִּפֶּר עַל, signifies essentially as כִּפֶּר, Isa. xxviii. 18, "to efface," related to "to strike out," and so to make invisible, that guilt should no more be seen. A newer expression for this is כִּסָּה עַל, "to cover over," Ps. xxxii. 1; Prov. x. 12. The details of expiatory offerings are given in *Antiquities*, 55 ff.; the formation and meaning of כַּפֹּרֶת, from כפר, "to rub off," "scrape off" (to obliterate, and therefore to *forgive* guilt); cf. *Antiquities*, p. 124. In Greek, in the New Testament, ἱλασμός corresponds, 1 John ii. 2, iv. 10, cf. Heb. ii. 17, viii. 12, with 3 Macc. iii. 32 f.; for the LXX. had already so translated כִּפֻּרִים. Paul, on the contrary, uses, and he alone, the simpler word καταλλαγή, "reconciliation," which was borrowed from civil relations. 2 Cor. ii. 18–20; Rom. v. 11, xi. 15.

[2] As in Isa. ix. 5 f., xxvii. 5, xxxii. 18, xlviii. 22, and elsewhere. In the

Nevertheless reconciliation and peace indicate rather a passive condition than such an active state of being as that into which everything here in question ultimately issues. For joy also, in its purest and divinest signification, finds its place here as well. Joy cannot rest, but impels man ever to thoughts and deeds that are correspondent with it; but only joy in God impels to such thoughts and deeds as faith can desire. Already in the Old Testament, as the characterization of the life of such as are reconciled to God, this representation of a life continually illumined by divine serenity and animated by inexhaustible joy is, in the higher speech, very prevalent. As if indeed that rare joy, as it broke in upon the common experience of men in high festivals, became thus the abiding ground and principle of life.[1] From the circle of images belonging to this conception, the idea of "conducting" men to God is derived.[2] It was Christ, however, who, into the midst of the world intoxicated with perverse delights and unspeakable sadness, first brought that calm, perennial, serene joyfulness with which He Himself was filled. Nor does anything more distinctly characterize the apostolic period than this divine joy,[3] as, amid the sorrows of the time, it welled forth from the experience of the power of true reconciliation and indestructible peace with God, now at last won for the whole world.

Genuine faith with radiant cheerfulness and joy are

New Testament no word is proportionately more frequent than εἰρήνη; and that in such connections as χαρὶς καὶ εἰρήνη and the like, it always stands at the end, is here characteristic; in Col. i. 20, εἰρηνοποιεῖν corresponds to καταλλάσσειν.

[1] According to such striking phrases as Isa. ix. 3, xii. 3, xxv. 6.

[2] The splendid image of the προσαγωγή in the New Testament, first used by Paul (Rom. v. 2), then repeated in 1 Pet. iii. 18, Eph. ii. 18, iii. 12, is taken from the high privilege of presentation on some festive occasion to a great lord, and formal admission to familiar acquaintance with him.

[3] Understanding the χαρά, placed between "love" and "peace," in Gal. v. 22, or observing the exclamation in Phil. ii. 18, 28, iii. 1, iv. 4, and adding others of the same kind in the New Testament, we shall find how little the joyous message with which Christianity opened was fruitless amongst the first Christians, and what "rejoicing with joy unspeakable and full of glory" signifies side by side with "faith," 1 Pet. i. 8.

inseparable. But still further is this manifest as we remember that faith, liberating man from the oppressive and embarrassing burden of sin and error, restores to man's free will its proper freedom again, withdrawing it from the blind yoke of error and sin, whose injury is the greater, the longer and the more severe the sway. If in the Old Testament the name of freedom in this sense is not used, the thing itself is found there plainly enough. Where, for example, is there a purer joy, and a spirit freer from all perverse and troubled thoughts, than in the songs in which the deepest feelings of the true religion are poured forth so frequently in the Psalter? With what bounding joy, moreover, is the soul of the prophet often filled, even in the growing confusion and darkness of his time, at the anticipation of the certainty of the coming perfection of all true religion! And in all the judgments, thoughts, and discourses of the Old Testament what luminous transparency there is, what freedom from error and prejudice! Joy and freedom are closely related, as is finely shown in this way in the Old Testament. But afterwards, when Christ had prepared the mind for all genuine freedom in this higher sense, both by the consummation of all true religion which He brought, and especially by its immediate and most palpable consequence, viz. the emancipation of the spirit from the Old Testament law, transformed in the course of centuries to a grievous if apparently most sacred and inviolable burden; then the word itself, with all its weight of meaning, enters into the language of genuine religion. For reasons easy enough to understand, it is, however, the apostle who had borne the yoke of the law most painfully, and who knew it most deeply, who has this word and this thought of freedom most familiarly upon his tongue and in his mind;[1] and he it is who also compresses his vindication of the soundness of this view into

[1] According to the plainest exposition in Rom. vi. 18–22, vii. 3 f., viii. 2–21; but similarly also in 1 Cor. ix. 1–19, x. 29; 2 Cor. iii. 17; Gal. ii. 4, iv. 22–v. 13.

the short sentence, "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty."[1] Moreover, as James, who, in entire independence of Paul, always adheres as clearly as possible to the words of Christ, designates Christianity in sharp contrast with the Rabbinical law of his time, "the law of liberty";[2] so also Christ Himself exclaims, according to John's Gospel, "The truth shall make you free."[3]

One of the primary and infallible tests of the stage upon which a religion stands is afforded by the question, what measure of power such religion possesses effectively to deal with the errors and sins of men, and to put in their place vivifying faith in the saving grace of God. Subjected to this test, the history and course of the true religion taught in the Bible discover a remarkable characteristic. During the whole of the long ages of its peculiar development, from the first moment of its active operation upon earth to its consummation, there runs through it, as one unbroken, ever-stronger thread, the recognition and presence of heroic faith, a faith which fights against all error and sin more and more victoriously, and at length completely demonstrates how such enemies are to be successfully met. The first great historical sin of which the Bible speaks is as full of fruitful teaching when contemplated in its reassuring aspect as when looked at on its tragic side. That the terrible sin of Cain is the immediate issue of the power of sin to which Adam gives the impulse, shows how inevitably rapid the progress of sin is, if no higher power turns itself against it; and may also palpably confute the preconceived opinion that the mere youth of the human race alone must have hindered this sad and fearful progress. Nevertheless Cain, because he follows in time the divine voice, is ultimately dealt with as favourably as his position allows; and this is the more significant since what is in question is a heinous sin and its correspondent punish-

[1] 2 Cor. iii. 17.
[2] Jas. i. 25, ii. 12; also but more in words after Paul's manner, 1 Pet. ii. 16.
[3] John viii. 32–36.

ment.[1] So this incident stands as a clear and luminous example at the very commencement of the whole infinite history of sin upon earth. It shows what the wisest of men, at least among the prophets, thought concerning the possibility of an ultimate forgiveness of sin. As, however, they placed at the beginning of all human eras an example of the realization of their longing after such deliverance, so they could hope for its full and complete realization only in the Messianic age.[2] If the mere teachers of the law, according to traditional exegesis and use of the Pentateuch, had in the course of centuries more and more arrogated to themselves the decision concerning the forgiveness of sin among men and rejected all forgiveness not pronounced by the priest, the mighty aim and endeavour of Christ, on the contrary, was directed rather to the awakening of faith in the possibility of a forgiveness of sin in the individual alone, teaching every man to connect his own eternal salvation wholly and directly with the rise and growth of faith in God. From the reminiscences of the Gospels this is apparent as one of His most characteristic and supreme aims.[3] How fruitful His activity to this end was, the whole apostolic period shows, in which for the first time in the whole history of the world a body of men appeared who, in the clear consciousness of having been redeemed by Christ from the power of sin themselves, were one and all aflame with the desire to uplift the whole world to the same purely divine joy and satisfaction which had been realized in their own souls, and who felt also that they possessed in themselves the divine power qualifying them for the task.

But already in the history of Israel there had been an anticipation of this time. The first faint glimmer of morning, the precursor of this clear full day under Christ and His

[1] This is the sense of the narrative, Gen. iv. 3–16.

[2] In such words as Jer. xxxi. 34.

[3] How peculiar and how new this was in Christ is sufficiently evident from Mark ii. 5–12, iii. 28, iv. 12; John v. 14, viii. 11, ix. 2 ff.; then also in the model prayer, Matt. vi. 12–15. That nevertheless the first impulse in this direction was given by the Baptist, is shown in the *History*, vi. 160 ff.

apostles, broke forth at the return from the Babylonish captivity. By an extraordinary deliverance, and by the prospect of the possible rise around Jerusalem of a new and free kingdom, the nation was impressively reminded that true joy and freedom, without which the new realm could not flourish, spring only from the inexhaustible grace of God, and the living participation of man in that inestimable blessing. The great anonymous prophet lent to this faith appropriate words,[1] and the truth it involved found its celebration in the community in immortal songs of the simplest but most fervent strains.[2] Not until five or six hundred years afterwards, however, was the full clear day of perfect realization to shine forth in all its peaceful splendour. But when at length in the transfigured faith of all who rejoiced in this day, the regeneration of the ancient community became a most vivid and profound reality, and the grievous errors and faults which for so many centuries had been more and more perniciously rooted in it, entirely disappeared in the shortest space of time under the first quickening influence of this new spirit of faith as it arose, then indeed the higher faith had magnificently attested its wonder-working power. All the writings of the New Testament were composed under the quick fervid glow of this faith, and, breathing its wonderful, confident, world-conquering[3] energy, perpetuate for all coming time its radiant vivifying spirit. It appeared then impossible that those who had once experienced this whole divine transformation, and felt themselves borne along by its mighty impulse, could ever again sink down from this lofty height of faith and become a new prey to the power of evil; impossible also that those who had fallen from the fully-manifest grace of God should

1 Book of Isa. lxi. 1; here a genuine Hebrew word for "freedom" occurs, דְּרוֹר; yet it signifies rather "a setting free," as the LXX. translate it, ἄφεσις. But that the freedom meant is spiritual freedom he has already explained, xlii. 1 ff. With the greater case could he therefore introduce much of another kind.

2 Ps. ciii., cxv.; cf. cxxx. 3 f.

3 According to the expression, 1 John v. 4 f.; cf. John xvi. 33.

once again fight their way upward through the whole stern struggle of profound sorrow and repentance. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews first expresses this thought, as thus conceived,[1] and he expresses it with all emphasis at a time when from all the world the direct perils first threatened apostolic Christianity, and appeared ready to hurry away many souls into the vortex. And, in fact, who can imagine that from all that he had at length so painfully won with the profoundest tension of his mind, and the fullest transformation of his "old man," and from all that gave to him, amid the many toils and sufferings of his new life, such unspeakable confidence and strength, a man like Paul could ever wholly fall again? Nor did Paul stand alone in that age; an age which, as it was created by such men, might very well entertain the conviction that it is impossible to fall from divine grace when once it is actually and fully experienced. Indeed, this most illustrious of the later apostles, the first successor of such great forerunners, was not deceived. The storms preceding the convulsion of the final overthrow of Jerusalem staggered the faith of none of the genuine Christians of that time.

But in relation to this subject the proposition is obviously applicable, that every thought spoken appropriately enough at a special elevation of mind, and capable of being rightly understood, is yet very liable to misinterpretation. The more momentous and vital, to every one who is called to walk on the lofty heights of all true religion, is the question what is the essential nature of sin, the more easily may germinate a new and grave error; and such error arose sufficiently early to secure the kindly notice of Christ's beloved disciple. Is it a principle valid in the main that the regenerate man cannot fall from grace; the conclusion that he can no longer sin is at once possibly drawn; and this conclusion must have

[1] Heb. vi. 4–6; how the idea of "once," "once for all," in spiritual things is elsewhere also appropriately made conspicuous, cf. ix. 26 f., x. 2; and the Indian *sakrit satâm, Sâvitri*, ii. 26 f.

been actually drawn by many in the early Church. John re-establishes again the real truth upon this subject.[1] Jude also,[2] another of the later writers of the New Testament, points out, in cases where spiritual freedom had been abused, what are the proper limits of such freedom—limits which may, it is true, be readily overstepped. But indeed Christ Himself[3] had previously given the lucid example that might well serve for the summary rejection of such error, an error likely enough to renew its appearance from the lofty position the consummation of all true religion afforded.

2. But if genuine faith, from that height which it must always occupy and maintain, looks round still further upon the present, it finds two other not less important advantages which the regenerate man may rejoice in as won for him by divine grace,—advantages which take their rise in the present but stretch far beyond into all the future, and which on this account must be carefully distinguished. He who feels himself taken up by the new birth into the movement and order of the divine life, may just on this account feel himself also a participator in the divine righteousness and divine holiness, and therefore himself righteous and holy. These attributes, however, are in the strictest sense so purely divine, that at once the question arises to what extent they can be held to apply to men, even if contemplated as regenerate.

§ 304. (1) In the ordinary sense of the word, we call that man righteous whose conduct is as it should be, but we presuppose thereby a standard in accordance with which as a man he is judged. This standard must put all men under obligation and be equally valid for all, and can therefore only be God's will as it has become revealed to man, and presents itself to him distinctly as the rule of action. Thus purely historically, Noah is called a righteous man almost at the beginning of the Old Testament, and Joseph of Nazareth at

[1] 1 John i. 7–ii. 2, 12, iii. 4–9. [2] Jude 4 ff., cf. 2 Pet. ii. 19.

[3] Matt. vii. 21–23. The doubts of some recent critics whether Christ Himself actually discoursed in this manner are sufficiently set aside by a more exact knowledge of the sources of the Gospel.

the beginning of the New:[1] the one according to that law which long before Moses could be regarded as binding upon men; the other according to the law contained in the Old Testament. The will of God therefore constitutes the righteousness in which man is to walk, or which he is to observe and in every way fulfil in his conduct.[2] There is a "righteousness of God" which no one amongst New Testament writers makes so conspicuous as Paul,[3] because he had himself come to know it in his own deepest experience. This ultimate source of all that is termed righteousness among men corresponds to the law of right established for all the world by creation, and tends also continually to the maintenance and advancement of this law of creation. He who is born again and reconciled to God is taken up into the movement and impulse of this divine order, and may thus have the certain assurance that he dwells and abides in it as his better self, and in this living faith may the more absolutely adhere to it on his own part. But, on the one hand, the aspiration after righteousness demands of him at all times conduct corresponding to the divine law of righteousness. There are situations, however, in which he is not able to act as he would, in harmony with the will of God. In such situations, faith that the will of God revealed to him will nevertheless be done is reckoned to him for righteousness, or, in other words, faith justifies him. So the Old Testament shows[4] historically in Abraham its pattern of faith, and also presupposes in the case of the Messianic promises; whilst the first Christians, in the midst of only the partial fulfilment of these promises, must have been sustained by the power of this faith under sufferings the most severe, and with a hope of their full realization strained to the utmost degree. On the other hand, righteousness, so far

[1] Gen. vi. 9; Matt. i. 19.

[2] Jas. i. 20; 1 John ii. 29, iii. 7, 10; Matt. iii. 15.

[3] According to 2 Cor. v. 21; Rom. i. 17, iii. 5, 21 f., 25 f., x. 3, cf. vi. 13.

[4] Gen. xv. 6; the words upon which Paul rightly lays so great an emphasis, and which he regards as so important.

as man can fulfil it, is a Whole, not to be violated or broken into parts, but ever to be made good again. Therefore is it also a possession which, so long as he lives amid the temptations of the world, is, although won, constantly to be guarded and always more and more increased, but yet in the course of the life of the individual man is never perfected. On this side, therefore, only the living power of faith can guarantee it to him until at death it is decided whether he was actually a righteous man before God.

For the individual man, therefore, the faith that he stands and makes progress in the divine righteousness is a divine joy, concerning the grounds of which he must continually render account to himself, and it is a foretaste of eternal blessedness. Within these limits the Old Testament maintains its position. But righteousness is not indeed a divine good and a divine power for the individual man merely. By the establishment of a more or less true religion, how much more by the establishment of the perfectly true religion, it may become a power for a whole great community, through whose existence and life it may influence the individual members thereof, and sustain and strengthen among them in a wonderful degree, nay even purify and refine, the faith in this very righteousness itself. In that case all the individual members, as a Whole, may be denominated "righteous," and addressed and admonished as such, and in various ways may be so contemplated; not in every condition and circumstance, but where it is suitable. But this is only equivalent to reminding them of what they, as members of this community, by their own consent in the outset, or by their renewed vow at an expiation festival, have become, and are ever to remain. In the Old Testament, therefore, the members of the community, as a Whole, are often designated "righteous;" nevertheless, only in the higher speech and in exulting elevation of thought; and not with any frequency till the later community songs,[1]

[1] צַדִּיקִים as a form of address, Ps. xxxiii. 1, perhaps a joyful song at the close of the annual atonement festival after purification had been fully accom-

when the past momentous history had already shown how the luxuriant growth of unrighteousness could occasion the deepest corruption even of the nation of Israel, and when a new and purified community anxiously athirst for the divine righteousness had sprung up amid the after-effects of the severe trials of the time of exile. The term "upright" came into use in this sense earlier,[1] perhaps for some special cause. But in the New Testament Christians are never so denominated; since from a wholly new and powerfully operating cause the following situation of things occurred:—

It is not to be denied that the ability of the old community to maintain itself as a Whole upon this height of faith gradually became more and more enfeebled after the division of the Davidic kingdom. Up to the time of the exile the tendency to decay is clearly enough manifest. However laboriously at the period of the new Jerusalem the attempt was made to give new zest to the rigour of the law, the attempt but imperfectly succeeded. But only the more was the effort of individual men now directed to the re-establishment of faith and righteousness in the community. The inclination of mind, also, towards these spiritual possessions remained continually so strong that many in the community would gather about one righteous man with the desire and thirst that a similar righteousness should become efficacious in themselves. As they looked back upon the completed life of such a righteous man, now glorified, they could feel themselves made righteous before God, if they felt living and working in themselves the same energy of faith and righteousness which had come forth as a mighty influence into the world from him. In this way

plished. Similarly, Ps. cxviii. 15–20, and B. Isa. xxvi. 2, and in many other passages of later songs; but the older songs form the precedent, Ps. xxxii. 11, lviii. 10 f., i. 5 f. Just these ideas of righteousness, of the righteous one, or the righteous, are preferred in the oldest maxims of the Old Testament.

[1] יְשָׁרִים, "the upright," Ps. xxxiii. 1, cxii. 4; but this designation is already found in Num. xxiii. 10; it interchanges in Job throughout in the older aphorisms very often with צַדִּיקִים, and impresses itself early enough on the name of endearment, יְשֻׁרוּן; cf. *Lehrbuch*, § 167*a*.

there arose in the old community the idea that from the finished life of a righteous man a virtue might stream forth upon many for their regeneration and justification before God.[1] But in all this is to be found only the true strengthening and enhancement of the operations of the divine spirit among men which must naturally take place in the ever purer consummation of the powers of all true religion. Since now, as will appear further on, this was realized in the purest and loftiest form in the case of Christ, the explanation is given why Christians in the New Testament are represented not so much as "righteous," but as "made righteous;"[2] precisely at that time the power of the highest and most purely spiritual justification of man before God was most freshly and vividly experienced. Still the New Testament throws into prominence as equally important that the Christian may assuredly feel himself as in his present life already in faith made righteous before God, and that his faith may serve also to prevent his ever falling again from the divine righteousness he has once won; but yet only after his earthly life is he finally recognised by God as for ever made righteous.[3]

[1] See B. Isa. liii. 11; very similarly Dan. xii. 3, where the context suggests the influence of the glorified upon the great multitude of the nation. Apart from the word, the idea itself is presented and taught for all future time in such passages as Gen. xviii. 17–32; Ex. xxxii.–xxxiv.; Job xlii. 8 f. Concerning the historical background of B. Isa. liii. see *Prophets*, iv. 308 ff.

[2] δικαιωθέντες, Rom. v. 1, 9; Tit. iii. 7; δικαίωσις, Rom. iv. 25, v. 18, is precisely our "justification;" δικαιοσύνη is always "righteousness;" δικαίωμα, "that which is declared as righteous," is, looked at retrospectively, the contents of the law, in conformity with which, if one remains faithful to such contents, one is made righteous; or it is "the decision of the law," "that which is according to law," and is due, Rev. xv. 4; Rom. i. 32, ii. 26, viii. 4; Luke i. 6; or "the means of righteousness," Heb. ix. 1, 10; while, looked at prospectively, it is God's declaration concerning the regenerate, and at last concerning the perfected, pronouncing them righteous, Rom. v. 16, 18; the plural, τὰ δικαιώματα, may also, like *literæ justificatoriæ* (cf. שִׁלּוּחִים, "bill of divorce"), signify "the letter declaratory of righteous character," or the documents containing the particulars of the declaration of a man's character as righteous, Rev. xix. 8. How much this whole view concerning the justification of Christians is purely apostolic appears from the fact that it is entirely foreign to all the Gospels, including even John's.

[3] It is indeed to be noted that everything Paul says in his Epistles to the Galatians and Romans, and in 1 Cor. iv. 4, vi. 11, always resolves itself into

(2) The case is very similar with respect to "sanctification." The regenerate man who is taken up into the operation and power of the Holy Spirit and the divine life, is also taken up into the sanctity of this life, and may well ponder in his own mind what is involved in it. Taken up into this sanctity, he may consider himself inviolable by all the contamination of the world, and in this faith may, as a matter of fact, be resolutely on his guard against allowing himself to be polluted by the pleasure or defiled by the lusts of the world. He will then feel himself, as it were, consciously anointed as with holy oil [1] for what is holy in speech and action, and also led and defended as by pure good angels,[2] or as if the world itself beheld a luminous splendour about him and feared to molest him.[3] If in the Old Testament, from the earliest times of the community, there is a tendency to connect sanctification by preference with priestly purification and cleansing of an outward kind, nevertheless it is very evident even in the Old Testament, and much more in the New, that only through the power of the Holy Spirit is sanctification possible.[4] But with sanctification, as with justification, it is in the whole community only that such power is regarded as in operation and seeking to maintain itself; and it is only as forming such Whole that its members are in the Old Testament denominated "saints," or the "holy nation," and where, indeed, some special reason exists for recalling to mind the sure basis of his sanctity.[5] It may be remarked also that this designation is by

the distinction but also into the connection of this temporal beginning and conclusion of justification; and Rev. xxii. 11 discourses in the simplest way on this subject, where the variation of the reading between δικαιωθήτω and δικαιοσύνην ποιησάτω affords the best exposition of the earthly δικαιοῦσθαι. [How Ewald interprets the passages which refer to Christ's death in its sacrificial aspect in relation to the divine righteousness, see below, § 326, in the chapter on "The Necessity and Significance of Faith in Christ."]

[1] As is said in B. Isa. lxi. 1, or in Ps. cv. 15, of the saints of the patriarchal world, who were especially regarded at a later period as the saints of the Old Testament. With wholly new force the symbol returns in 1 John ii. 20.

[2] As Ps. xci. 11 f.; Acts xii. 7–15. [3] Ps. cv. 15; cf. Acts vi. 15.

[4] Cf. Ps. li. 11; 2 Thess. ii. 13; repeated 1 Pet. i. 2.

[5] Apart from the passages in which the founding and fundamental destination of the community are touched upon, Ex. xix. 6; Lev. xi. 44 f., xix. 2, xx. 7, 26,

far less frequent than that of the "righteous," manifestly because the idea of holiness leads far more into the realms of the invisible than that of righteousness. On the contrary, in the New Testament the apostolic Christians are quite commonly so designated, at least in the higher discourse, and in passages where the connection of thought cannot be mistaken;[1] and no word so much as this shows what new power of actual sanctification of life had now, with Christianity, entered into the world. Nevertheless an individual member of the community whilst living is nowhere so called in the whole Bible;[2] and in the New Testament prominence is expressly given to the principle that the sanctification of the whole Church must continually grow.[3] Since, however, holiness in general has its proper import only as opposition to the world and in the conflict with it, but cannot, as with righteousness, be ascribed to man only and first of all after the close of his earthly life, this growth of the Church in sanctification is the more noteworthy.

(3) Both ideas, that of righteousness and that of holiness, are combined in the phrase, "a man of God," or in the special term, "a prince of God;"[4] the former at least in such periods of the Biblical literature when it was used with undiminished force in the full lofty signification which it is capable of bearing.[5] Yet the idea of Israel as son and of individuals as sons

the name is found only in Ps. xvi. 3, xxxiv. 9; Dan. viii. 24, xii. 7, cf. xi. 28, 30.

[1] This is seen in the Epistles of the New Testament and in the Acts. The more remarkable is it, however, that such terms are wholly wanting in the Epistles of James and John; yet this is only an indication how closely their language follows that of Christ Himself. That nevertheless in such passages as 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 15, 2 Cor. viii. 4, ix. 1, 12, Rom. xv. 25–31, Heb. vi. 10, by the "saints," the Christians of the Holy Land alone are meant, the connection of discourse in each case teaches.

[2] The "glorified" are, it is true, early spoken of by this term, Mark vi. 20; Matt. xxvii. 52; Luke i. 70. The designation of Christ once whilst living, Mark i. 24 (Luke iv. 34), as the "Holy One of God," has a purely Messianic basis. The words in Eph. iii. 5 are post-apostolic.

[3] As is very evident from Rom. vi. 19, 22; cf. 1 Thess. iv. 3 f., 7; Heb. xii. 14; 1 Tim. ii. 15.

[4] As Abraham once in the Book of Origins is designated, Gen. xxiii. 6.

[5] Cf. *Revelation; its Nature and Record*, pp. 267–9.

of God,—just as is the case with the two previous ideas,—is more consonant with the nature of the community.[1] But if this most striking and at the same time highest conception is in the New Testament, even more than the two previous conceptions, relegated for its consummation to the future consummation of things,[2] this is sufficiently explained from what has already been said in relation to these two previous conceptions. Nevertheless, if the idea of God as Father is the highest that Christians can form, their designation as sons must be appropriate even in the present life.[3]

§ 305. 3. Finally, as faith with its all-surveying eye turns from the present to the past, it sees the regenerate man as one "called and chosen" of God. For it has pre-eminently the consciousness of being taken up into the will, and therefore into the purpose of God and the actual progressive movement of the divine order of the world; it is sustained, indeed, by the vivid conviction that there is such a divine order, and it knows itself to be so little averse or estranged from it that it rather feels as though the whole thought, desire, and action were in harmony with it, and tended to promote it. Since, however, the most isolated individual man, with his personal endeavour and conduct, is not to vanish as nothing in this order, but is to contribute to its advancement with his whole will, desire, and activity, in the position in which he finds himself, and is to accustom that will more and more to execute only the divine will, he justly deems himself called of God so to act in this position; for the call comes primarily to the individual, and comes to him at a definite time and place, summoning him to a task which is marked out for him by such time and place. But inasmuch as the individual who is

[1] This idea, in place of which John puts that of "children," 1 John iii. 1 f. 10, v. 2, Paul, it is true, connects closely with that of Christ as the Son of God, and with His Spirit, Gal. iv. 5 f., Rom. viii. 14 f., repeated Eph. i. 5; but that he makes it perfected only in the future, follows from Rom. viii. 19–23, just as it certainly follows from Rom. ix. 4 that he properly derived it from the Old Testament.

[2] § 259, p. 162.

[3] As Paul finely shows in Rom. viii. 14 f.

conscious of being thus called of God may know by his own experience, as well as by the testimony of all past history, how little many men allow the will to be thus determined, and by consequence perish, the thought comes to him with all vividness still further that he is directly chosen of God for such work and for such experience of the divine grace. Moreover, this consciousness of having been chosen by divine grace may, if it is rightly cherished, on the one hand only increase his joyfulness in working, and on the other his humility and prudence in the contemplation of the divine grace. If, however, the divine work, which he is conscious of being called and chosen in his time and place to advance, is one which from its original aim and its invariable progressive movement runs through every age and through all the changes of the world; and if every man who comes into being in his time to participate in that eternal work of God, comes into being as it has been appointed to him, he may be conscious of being thus called and chosen according to the divine will not merely in the definite period of his earthly life, but also from the very beginning of the world. Whatever also may be his capability of working upon this right path, however limited and however feeble,—a capability bestowed upon him by divine creation,—he will nevertheless not deem it an idle and empty thing, by such employment of it, to answer the divine end of existence.

Such is the high significance of faith in the divine calling and election; and we shall see below that it is but the obverse of faith in the destination of man for the whole future. The Bible is full of this true faith in divine calling and election; but inasmuch as it receives its full significance only upon an elevation from which the vision extends far back into the history of all true religion, and accordingly gains in significance the more such sure vision extends into the most distant past, it is not surprising that it belongs to those parts of the Bible which stand out in the comparatively later writings as of growing importance. A strong foundation for

such faith is laid by the manner in which the Bible relates that an Abraham or a Moses, when he began his public work, followed only a divine call, a call, however, which did not come to either of them casually or somewhat abruptly, as at the commencement of an ordinary epic, but came in the closest connection with all the earlier development of the history of the world, and to each of them at the appropriate time and place.[1] If this belongs, as it well may, to the later representation of that which in all true history is abiding and divine, yet it shows how genuine prophets as they look back into their own past well know from their individual experience, and from profound contemplation of the whole divine course of things in the world, what significance the divine call really has for man in special situations of his life.[2] And proceeding by a logical and consistent inference a step further in such contemplation, Jeremiah depicts how vividly he himself was conscious of having been destined by God from the first conceivable moment of the earthly possibility of his existence, to be a prophet, and to be a prophet in such special situation of life;[3] so entirely did his will direct itself to the will of the true God, and gain a knowledge of it in the protracted course of his days, and so clearly did the divine continuity of the great events of the world, in the midst of which he moved, lie open before his glance.

However justly all this may apply to the individual man, it is not to be overlooked, further, that the great events of the history of the world contribute largely to call forth in whole nations and communities a dominant tendency of mind by which the individual man in the midst of them is definitively influenced. As little is it to be overlooked also that moments

[1] It is important here to note that with respect to this aspect of it, the Fourth and Fifth Narrators of the primitive history were the first to bring the narratives, Gen. xii. 1 ff., Ex. iii. 1 ff., to their special and peculiar elevation.

[2] Isa. vi. If Ezekiel, i. 1–iii. 21, was not able, notwithstanding all his splendour of language and imagery, to raise the grand introduction of his book to an equal height, it was owing to his not having in his public life attained to such a height in his work.

[3] Jer. i. 5; repeated from thence Gal. i. 15.

of mighty revolution in the destiny of kingdoms and nations, by their very nature turn back the glance to the beginnings of things and the divine predestination that governs both events and men. It was at such a time that the great anonymous seer, with the keen prophetic glance peculiar to him, perceived what destiny in the whole course and lot of nations belonged to Israel as the servant of God; how God had "called"[1] this nation and "chosen"[2] it before all others as His special servant among the nations, for a special service in His kingdom,—a kingdom embracing the whole earth. As he further adds what character and form the divine calling of every true member of this nation must necessarily assume,[3] he kindles to a wonderful glow the faith in the higher duty of life whose fire slumbers in the heart of every man receptive of the true religion. He it is who first gave to these remote yet most fruitful truths their familiar place in the circle of all true religion; and with these, at a time when they were in the highest degree applicable, were at length blended the similar truths which found expression when Christ and His apostles appeared. From the reminiscences of the Gospels it is abundantly evident what a powerful influence they had in the first rise of Christianity.[4] But however urgently Christ admonished the men of His time to obey the divine call that had come to them then as it had never come before,[5] the first to become deeply conscious of the significance of the truth that God had called them to participation in His kingdom and His grace, were the early Christians of the apostolic age; and no one ever felt it more profoundly in his own experience and declared it more impressively in all his utterances than the Apostle Paul.[6] He it is who, on the basis of his own

[1] B. Isa. xlii. 6, xlviii. 12, cf. xli. 9, li. 2, and also xlviii. 15.

[2] B. Isa. iv. 9, xlii. 1, xliii. 10, 20, xlv. 4, xlix. 7; afterwards Luke xxiii. 35.

[3] According to B. Isa. lv. and many other passages, lxv. 9, 15, 22; but even when the peophet includes himself, lxi. 1 ff.

[4] According to passages like Matt. iii. 2 f., iv. 17; Luke iv. 17 ff.

[5] According to words such as Matt. ix. 13, xxii. 2–14.

[6] From his earliest Epistles onwards, as 2 Thess. ii. 14; 1 Thess. ii. 12, iv. 7,

personal realization of the truth, without self-deception or boasting well knew what he said when in the overflowing of his apostolic fervour he speaks of himself as not merely called of God, but also "separated" by Him to his calling from the world,[1] or when he discoursed of the grace of God that saves men "according to election,"[2] and of those still living as "chosen in Christ."[3]

But the higher these declarations concerning men rise, the more important in application to them is everything we remarked above with respect to similar statements as corresponding to the import of the Bible. That Paul as an apostle is and will remain in his activity a "chosen instrument of God" for the mighty advancement of His kingdom, might be thought in his lifetime and could be said in the fitting place;[4] and the same holds good of others, not simply of him alone. But Christ everywhere gives prominence to the aphorism, "Many are called, but few chosen," *i.e.* few finally approved before the eternal Judge;[5] and if in the apostolic age it was preferred to designate Christians as a whole not merely as called but also as saved from the corruptions of the world of that time, and selected by the grace of God,[6] an individual man when living, if from special reasons and knowledge there were no doubt of his unswerving loyalty, might be characterized or "chosen in Christ,"[7] *i.e.* as such an one of whom nothing else

v. 24; Gal. i. 6, 15, v. 8, 13. All the rest of the New Testament writers follow him in this, excepting James and John.

[1] ἀφωρισμένος, Rom. i. 1; Gal. i. 15; cf. Acts xiii. 2.

[2] So 1 Thess. i. 4; 1 Cor. i. 27 f.; Rom. viii. 33, ix. 11, xi. 5, 7, 28; Col. iii. 12, in manifold forms of the expression.

[3] Rom. xvi. 13.

[4] Acts ix. 15.

[5] Matt. xx. 16, xxii. 14, cf. xxiv. 22, 24, 31; Luke xviii. 7.

[6] So in the superscriptions 1 Pet., Tit., 2 John; it is seen, however, from 1 Pet. ii. 9, how much the words in Ex. xix. 5 contributed to this whole view of Christians as chosen; and in 2 Tim. ii. 10, the ἐκλεκτοί are in common discourse the presumably best Christians. But, moreover, the lofty images of the Apocalypse from the time before the destruction of Jerusalem belong here, Rev. vii. 1-8, xiv. 1-5, cf. xvii. 14.

[7] Only for quite special reasons, *e.g.* because he had once been with Christ and then ever remained loyal to Him, can the Rufus mentioned in Rom. xvi. 13 be so distinguished.

could be supposed and expected, but that he would continue in his own spirit faithfully and wholly in the Spirit of Christ, and so be reckoned by God among the elect.

XV. THE SPONTANEITY OF FAITH.

§ 306. But powerful and blessed as the sway of faith becomes by reason of the whole twofold contents which it may appropriate, if only, in accordance with what has just been said, these contents be rightly applied, yet much must always depend upon the freeness and spontaneity inseparably belonging to faith. Nay more, in the actual conflicts upon the way to God, both in the case of the individual man no less than in that of greater or smaller communities held together by its contents, everything ultimately depends upon this spontaneity. For in every moment when the chief question is to resolve and to act, faith has to give the right direction to the free will of man, and to maintain it in such direction. Faith stands therefore in closest relation to the will, and just on this account, if only in its contents and tendency it be the true faith, it can never be too prompt, too joyful, and too brave. Now the free and ready action of faith suffers, it is true, if not at once yet necessarily in the course of time, should it have appropriated contents which, being in themselves perverse and untrustworthy, lead also to doubt and ultimately to sheer unbelief. But the presupposition here is that faith has its true and proper contents, as presented in the previous chapter. Summing up, however, the entire subject, the whole power of faith must here be passed under review. By virtue of its true and proper contents, faith, looked at from below as it exists in man, carries in itself the basis of the firmest and clearest conviction; looked at from above, it is sustained by all divine energies; thus therefore by constant, uniform freeness and readiness to act in accordance with such firm conviction and divine energy, it gains its absolutely peculiar inward force, and its actual outward power

which nothing can replace. Moreover, binding together the human and divine, and blending as it were heaven and earth, it becomes the great chief combatant in the removal of difficulties which intercept the free course of the divine will with mankind, and hinder the co-operation of the human will with the divine. Where it works, therefore, with its right contents and its unrestrained and uninterrupted freeness and spontaneity, the highest and the most salutary experience possible in the whole development of human history may be realized, as well in the case of the individual who submits to its sway as in its subsequent issues in the world beyond. For in some measure, indeed, according to the position of the individual to the world of his time, and according to the greatness of the subjects faith holds and maintains, such issues may extend their influence beyond the individual into the whole wide circle of humanity. The whole Bible attests this; but no one, in accordance with his own knowledge and anticipation, and placed in so lofty a position over against the whole world, expresses it so clearly and so strongly as Christ Himself, partly in figurative representations,[1] partly in the universal proposition, "Everything is possible to him that believeth."[2] This, to be sure, is only a brief exclamation, concisely and distinctly expressing the highest conceivable truth on this question, exactly similar to the kindred saying, "Nothing is impossible with God."[3] In such cases a closer observation of the circumstances under which so universal an expression occurs, will always show its necessary limitation. For instance, the "everything" in this saying does not include what is evil, only what is good and belongs to God and faith. But who can limit beforehand the extent of such good and not feel surprise at the occurrence of some phenomenon or event, whether brought about directly by God, or by means of man through faith, which seemed impossible before? In that

[1] § 301 at the close, p. 227 f.

[2] Mark ix. 23. This is the right reading and the true meaning of it. "Everything may happen to him that believeth," is less correct.

[3] So. LXX., Job xlii. 2*b*; repeated Matt. xix. 26; Luke i. 37.

great expression of Christ concerning faith, this, however, is especially instructive, viz. that He utters the saying in a connection where it may be referred as well to him who already possesses faith as to him who as yet does not possess it. For inasmuch as faith, if really a free and spontaneous power, is always eager to express itself in action immediately, so, like everything that has won palpable manifestation, it works with facility from him who possesses it to others, and kindles into flame the spark of faith already lying concealed within their souls; as indeed is shown in this narrative.[1]

But the mighty energy with which faith may spread from one to a whole multitude, and the force which lies in the free working of true and genuine faith, are most apparent just where the highest example of faith has entered into the world. Moreover, its free spontaneous action immediately, and in relation to the very utmost difficulty that may tend to enfeeble and annihilate the faith even of the best men, is attested by this example. Still further, all this is given and manifest, as it was needful it should be given and made manifest, within the sphere of the Biblical development of all true religion, and when the last great necessary advance upon its way was for ever won. For the spontaneous energy of faith cannot show itself more emphatically than when it has to come in conflict with a law, a law indispensable in an earlier age, subsequently more and more misunderstood, yet surrounded with a halo of sanctity, in short, a law like the Mosaic law in the time of Christ. No doubt everything by which man can be made righteous before God, everything essential to the confident expectation of eternal blessedness, is of the highest importance for faith. But whatever it may be in itself, should it lose its original freshness of life, and become a mere outward custom and dead formality, it loses thereby its power for faith and its divine use for man. All this the great prophets in the very midst of the true religion in Old Testament times had forcibly and eloquently taught. Yet all

[1] *I.e.* in the very next verse, Mark ix. 24.

this, in spite of their warning, had now come about. No doubt, also, it was the barest outline of what once had been sacred, that from the time of Ezra was derived by the schools of the law from the Pentateuch, and that now, surrounded anew by the highest sanctity, was declared alone sufficient for the justification of men before God. Indeed, all the world might have supposed that what was held to be the only true religion was now dependent upon this method of cleansing and purification; a method and means, it is true, innocent enough in the earlier ages and in accord with their spirit, but now sufficiently known to comprise essentially feeble, perishable, and earthly elements, and to have become pernicious rather than salutary in its influence. But the highest sanctity that could ever guard a way of righteousness now guarded this way; and only a faith that stood still higher in purity of spirit and freedom of action could win a victory over it; a purity and freedom, in short, which found only in the eternal will of God all light and strength, and so could endure the extremest possible trial. In such supreme conflict of faith Christ won the victory for Himself and for all the world that would follow Him. Thereby the proof was actually given that neither these nor any other means and works which, because they are prescribed for him by law, man observes as conducive to holiness, can really justify him before God; that not thus is the whole round of duty to God to be fulfilled; that all such separate works, even when they are good, are only single isolated acts of righteousness, whilst the whole spirit should ever be presented to God, and that this is possible only through the free and constant exercise and conflict of faith; and that only faith that thus attests itself can therefore ultimately justify in the sight of God. But when in the apostolic age it was a matter of moment to obtain and secure all the legitimate results of the conflict Christ had finished, then indeed a single spark from the pure and mighty fire of faith that had just been kindled in the world was able to create out of Saul a Paul, and to

send him as its most fitting instrument in that age to spread abroad in all its full glory through his whole remaining life the eternal doctrine, new nevertheless to all the world, that only by faith, a definite faith now for all the world and once for all made manifest, does man become righteous before God.[1]

Having once entered upon this right way, and having advanced further and further upon it in direct and consistent course, in opposition to all the difficulties that now confronted him, and by the power of this very faith, Paul found occasion and leisure to immortalize in literature this noble conception of it, this lofty view of its incomparable worth as destined to prove itself the firm stay of the life in all higher endeavours. The writings of Paul, springing from the purest and most fervent glow of true faith, have now become its undesigned yet eternal panegyric. In the course of them he avails himself of the aid of every proof that came readily to his hand to establish the soundness of his principle. He proves it (1) by a comparison of faith with the nature and working of every written law;[2] (2) by showing that Christianity with its freedom from the mere letter of this definite Mosaic law only takes up again the thread of the patriarchal age,[3] a proof which corresponds and coincides exactly with his fundamental thought; (3) by a reference to the fact that redemption from the law had entered into the world through Christ "without the law," which is true and just so far as Christ and His immediate disciples did not come forth from the school of the law at that time chiefly dominant, and did not regard such school with approval;[4] (4)

[1] Gal. ii. 16–21, cf. vi. 12–16; Rom. iii. 20, 24–28; the chief passages.

[2] Gal. iii. 10–12; Rom. iii. 20, vii. 7–25, iv. 15. Cf. also §§ 34–46, pp. 77–139 in *Revelation; its Nature and Record*, where the discussion of this whole subject is more complete.

[3] Gal. iii. 6–9, 14–29; Rom. iv.

[4] *χωρὶς νόμου*, Rom. iii. 21, by which is understood, since the matter is dealt with historically, that in the appearing of Christ which brings the righteousness of God and not that of the law, the existing school of the law has not co-operated in the least, nor did Christ proceed from it,—a position with which all the reminiscences of the Gospels agree.

by the witness of history to the working of this school of the law, since it did not possess energy enough, in all thoroughness of principle and amid all the vicissitudes of the national life, to uplift the Jews sufficiently above the moral condition of the heathen.[1] He points incidentally to other proofs;[2] he might also have added many more,[3] and have drawn out those he gives in further detail;[4] but there was no necessity for all this. The chief thing is the inner truth of the whole contention, and the power, inseparably bound up with it, of effecting that amelioration and renewal of all mankind, which is distinctive of Christianity. Everything, indeed, with this apostle ultimately branches out into this one issue, the spiritual creation of a new humanity, an issue upon which he discourses as the occasion demands, now with calm and confident assurance, now with the glow of the purest inspiration.[5]

§ 307. In the long history of the development of all true religion from the beginning to the end, a chief endeavour of all who were conscious of being strongly impelled by the ardour of faith was necessarily just to foster this its legitimate freedom and spontaneity of action, to quicken and increase it, and indeed to preserve it also from deterioration. Nay more, in all true religion, the higher faith in general and pure and salutary faith in particular must stand, the more vigorously

[1] Paul begins with this as most apparent, Rom. ii.; cf. earlier, 1 Thess. ii. 14-16; 2 Cor. iii. 6 ff.

[2] Such as the non-fulfilment of the law, by the chief teachers of it, Gal. vi. 13; the allusion to the earlier impurity of the world yet in its youth, Gal. iv. 1–9; and others; altogether apart from the allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament.

[3] For example, if he from the other side had wished to enter upon the nature of works, he might have added the proof indicated p. 258, that all works are fragmentary, just as all knowledge is, while faith, on the contrary, may be a whole, constantly in readiness, nay, even complete, so that what James says of patience may be said of it, akin as it is to patience, it forms an ἔργον τέλειον.

[4] For how much may we to-day more perfectly know and prove by our more exact historical investigations and knowledge!

[5] As Gal. iii. 5, iv. 15, and especially Rom. vi.–viii. But the reference to that greatest matter of fact itself is closely bound up with this, viz. that otherwise the whole of Christianity is idle and vain, Gal. ii. 21, v. 2 ff.

were aroused, during the long course of the formation of its genuine community, and so during the more than fifteen hundred years of its history as the Bible presents it to us, all the multifarious questions which a subject like faith may involve, a subject purely spiritual and deeply affecting the most inner experiences and the highest aims. The Bible contains very manifold opinions and suggestions about it, given sometimes briefly, sometimes more at length, now easily intelligible, now difficult to grasp, or indeed apparently contradictory. But putting everything together, including brief and incidental hints occasionally offered, there emerges the picture of a conflict continued during all those many centuries to settle more and more completely and comprehensively the perception and knowledge of the nature of faith, of truly salutary and therefore especially prompt and ready faith; and we are obliged to say that all the difficult questions which here come into view were solved at that time with perfect confidence.

Nevertheless, in true religion, faith has so much to do with the purely spiritual, invisible and therefore divine realm of all human thinking and conception, that he who possesses it may well seek in a new and difficult situation of things to render aid to others by more outward proofs of the spontaneous working of faith. It is true that the distinct contents of faith should ever be determined according to knowledge, as indeed the Bible presupposes from the first,[1] and the fundamental conditions of its free action demand. But so far as the subject of faith relates to the purely divine realm, it always remains with men upon a higher level than all existing knowledge. What else indeed are the similitudes or parables of Christ but endeavours to make all that belongs to the perfected kingdom of God, which yet no human eye has seen, more accessible by means of sensuous images to those who would not ôtherwise seriously think about it at all, much less believe in it? Moreover, in the earliest ages,

[1] From Ex. iv. 7–9, 30 f., to B. Isa. xliii. 10, and 1 John iv. 6.

when the whole mind of man had scarcely in the least degree made itself familiar with truths so sublime, and taken them into its faith, the greatest prophets sought by signs and wonders to enkindle the belief that the invisible almighty God was really working in the prophet, in order that thus the belief so awakened might be raised and directed to that special message they had to announce from Him; and in the ages when already the kingdom was declining, an Isaiah had to resort afresh to such powerful outward aids. But even when the prophet is a true prophet, the relation in which he stands to the new message is never such as to force and compel the faith he demands. The last of those great prophets well knew that with a community that ought already to have been long accustomed to the higher faith, readiness to accept and cherish new faith of this kind is not promoted first of all by signs and proofs foreign to the special subject itself, and calculated rather to strengthen and confirm merely the belief in mighty deeds; but only by signs and proofs manifestly homogeneous with such subject.[1] When, however, after the long extinction of all public prophecy in Israel, Christ arose, demanding faith in what was only the logical and consistent outcome of all that till then had been legitimately believed in the community, and his opponents, full of unbelief and misconception of the Bible, arbitrarily demanded miraculous proofs of a wholly foreign nature, flattering to the senses, and even then not necessarily convincing, and demanded them in reality only to tempt Him and cover their own obstinate aloofness with hypocritical pretence, He refused to accede to their request, and with perfect justice.[2] Subsequently by the great apostle was pronounced the righteous condemnation as well of the last traces of a superstition arising out of misconception of the sublimest reminiscences of antiquity as of every kind of hypocritical unbelief.[3]

[1] As we see it most obviously and distinctly in the case of Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

[2] According to Matt. xii. 38 f., xvi. 1–4; John iv. 48, cf. vi. 26.

[3] As may be seen in Paul's words, 1 Cor. i. 21, which wholly agree with the Gospels.

But He who brought and could demand the highest faith, and who therefore had the right sharply to rebuke both unbelief[1] and little faith,[2] most profoundly apprehended also and most distinctly declared that the free spontaneity of faith is a quality of supreme importance in relation to it; that therefore its feeblest beginnings are to be met with helpful encouragement where they are sincere;[3] and that what is to be required of every man is that when a matter of the higher faith presents itself, he at least shall not misjudge what is plainly manifest to the senses.[4] Thus all that might mislead or occasion injury, bearing upon this subject, is substantially and permanently placed upon its right footing; and, surveying the whole apostolic age, we see that all the apostles adopt this method of procedure, Paul, however, as opportunity offers, discoursing in his Epistles with the greatest plainness upon the question.[5]

1. *The Trials of Faith.*

§ 308. Faith holds fast therefore as unquestionable the certainty of the eternal existence of the true God, and the certainty of His salvation. Containing in itself everything that can enlighten the mind and strengthen the spirit of the regenerate man, it is his sure defence and unfailing support on the way to God. But our life on earth continually brings, on the one hand new and unexpected difficulties and embarrassments, while on the other it makes heavy demands upon our powers. The new-born spirit, at first surprised and

[1] According to Matt. xi. 4–24, and other passages.

[2] ὀλιγόπιστοι is indeed a frequent word of rebuke, Matt. vi. 30, viii. 26, xiv. 31, xvi. 8, cf. xvii. 20 (where the reading ὀλιγοπιστίαν for ἀπιστίαν, which is found also in the Cod. Sinait., seems to be only an ancient toning down of an expression apparently too strong); Luke xvii. 5 f.

[3] This is the meaning of the narrative, Mark ix. 23–25.

[4] The decisive words of John x. 37 f., xiv. 9–11, have this signification.

[5] The copious counsels concerning those who are weak in faith, Rom. xiv. 1–xv. 13, may here be mentioned; and it may be noted that Paul never speaks of men as "of little faith," and blames them as Christ does; only the Lord could do this.

perplexed, may be led to helplessness and despondency, and faith and loyalty may be threatened with grave and irreparable injury. In point of fact, however, he who has been created anew should not allow his faith to waver in such circumstances; rather should he hold it with the greater stedfastness the more it is shaken, that its genuineness may be attested. He may do this if his faith be really what it should be; and he ought to do it, inasmuch as by that very faith itself he knows that the divine order of the world goes forward with unfailing constancy; that the present confusion and embarrassment will speedily pass away, if only he be stedfast and true; and that ultimately that happy issue will come which no one expresses out of the glowing purity of his faith with such incomparable truth as the great Apostle of Faith.[1] Every calamity which comes upon man is therefore looked at retrospectively only as a trial which God allows to come upon him in order to prove him and show whether he have faith or not. It may be said, perhaps, that this holds good in the case of bad men also; but the Bible applies it only in the case of those in whom a higher faith must be presupposed, who can therefore most readily perceive that the trial is a trial from God. In this sense the Bible speaks from beginning to end of trials or temptations from God, and in its earliest [2] as well as its latest writings also; so that it cannot be doubted that this conception belongs to the most ancient treasure of all true religion as established for the community by Moses. It teaches also clearly enough that no mortal man in the midst of the whirl and tumult of life is exempt from trial; and if the ancient Book of Origins supposes that Moses and Aaron were not excluded from it, in the New Testament also, the earliest and earlier portions of reminiscence give to us the narrative of Christ's temptation both in the older and simpler and in the more extended form

[1] Rom. viii. 28.

[2] The short but very clear narrative, Ex. xv. 25, is from the Book of Covenants, or rather from its sources.

of it;[1] whilst apart from this particular incident the earlier evangelical reminiscences relate similar though apparently different instances.[2] Moreover, the whole Bible suggests by very luminous intimations that every temptation of the kind, in proportion to the greatness of the difficulty in overcoming it, and the importance of the issue at stake, obtains the more glorious reward and advances the more powerfully the work of God in the world;[3] nay, it even invokes blessing upon those whom God has thought worthy of such temptation.[4] And as the Bible, in a hundred cases of similar trial of the severest kind, speaks in this strain, though without directly using this term temptation,[5] so it may be said that the true divine progress of the whole history of the world, from the primitive age until now, consists of one long chain of such well-endured temptations, and that out of them, as they fell upon prominent men or whole nations, the most influential moral reformations have proceeded. Nay more, we are able thus to comprehend the representation in the Epistle to the Hebrews of the whole appearing of Christ as the supreme temptation earth and time have witnessed.[6]

[1] Cf. *History*, vi. 270 f.; *Die drei ersten Evangelien*, i. p. 40 f., 80 f.

[2] For the reminiscences of Matt. xvi. 22 f., John vi. 15, lead essentially to the same principle contained in the well-known history of the Temptation; nor is any important difference involved in the fact that the narrative of Matthew (xvi. 22 f.) is more vivid than that of John (vi. 15).

[3] The story of Abraham, Gen. xv. 1–xxii. 19, affords the great example of all temptation, even the longest and severest conceivable, although the word "tempt" is actually employed only in reference to the last and highest stage of it.

[4] Deut. xxxiii. 8.

[5] For instance, the whole Book of Job gives the counterpart to this example from Abraham's life, in a different way, yet equally elevated and instructive in character, without once using the word נָסָה, LXX. πειράζω. On the other hand, the Deuteronomist (viii. 2, 16, xiii. 3) very clearly speaks of the divine end of temptation. This נָסָה "to try," is a word introduced from the Aramæan into the Hebrew, which, along with the genuine Hebrew word נָשָׂא, "to lift," indicates an artificial lifting up, or a short, quick, upward movement to ascertain the weight of a thing. Cf. Job vi. 2. It is thus distinguished from בָּחַן, "to test," "to examine," from בָּחַר, "to choose."

[6] Heb. ii. 18, iv. 15.

As every trial of faith which God sends upon man may nevertheless be conducive to his salvation, so on the contrary all murmuring against God, all despair of His help,[1] as well as all unreasonable demands and expectations in relation to Him,[2] are appropriately regarded in the Bible as instances of inadmissible tempting of God on the part of man. For, looking at this whole matter, in the primary aspect of it, God has indeed the right to ask at any time whether faith and loyalty towards Him are duly maintained, since man is always liable to error and mistake; but if man despairs of the existence and power of God, he tempts God with the doubt whether He be God, and whether He be the true God; or if man expects some unreasonable thing of God, he tempts Him with the question whether He is willing to do some unreasonable thing. For man is able to judge especially when called to the privilege of true faith, that it is not permissible to think in this way of God, nor to expect such intervention from Him; so that he not merely offends against faith, but he disturbs the divine order of the world and provokes the anger of God. That man is not to tempt God is therefore so old a principle of the true religion that King Ahaz, as apparently a well-informed and sagacious dissembler, could misuse it.[3] Moreover, this contrast between the Human and the Divine, so emphatic and sharp in itself,

[1] The important and clear example of this from the primitive history is the temptation on account of water in the desert, which was alternate, *i.e.* of the people on the part of God according to the oldest narrative, Ex. xv. 25; and of God, in a different way, on the part of the people and Moses, according to the Book of Origins, Num. xx. 1–13, 24, xxvii. 14; or on the part of the people a ne, according to the Fourth Narrator, Ex. xvii. 1–7. This portion of reminiscence from Moses' time must have been once very much spoken abou ; and in fact only in this way does each temptation become so extremely complicated and also ultimately so prejudicial in its effect, in one aspect of it, as the reminiscences from Moses' time show to have been the case.

[2] As in the cases Acts v. 9, cf. 3, xv. 19. The same thing, however, expressed more in Greek fashion lies in the idea of a Θεομάχος, Acts v. 39; and according to Jude 8, 12, Ecclus. xviii. 22, Wisd. i. 2, this idea becomes very common with later writers.

[3] Isa. vii. 12; cf. Deut. vi. 16.

belongs unquestionably to the oldest elements of the true religion as it came into the world by Moses.

§ 309. During the last centuries before Christ there occurred nevertheless, in relation to many conceptions of this kind, a remarkable change, which left its impress on the common currency of speech. As the gravest scruples were entertained, at that period, against ascribing many things to God which were apparently too human, or against placing Him even in thought in somewhat ambiguous association with evil, so wicked suggestions and all the darker ills of the world were now attributed to Satan,[1] temptations of all kinds were traced up to him, and he was often designated the "Tempter."[2] In such representations the narrative in the Book of Job was no doubt chiefly present to the mind. In harmony with this all sufferings and afflictions, particularly those of obscure origin, were characterized with fitting brevity as temptations, and much was said of them.[3] Such ideas therefore, though occurring rarely in the Old Testament, and originally only in the most significant passages, were now in every one's mind. Some, however, who did not care to speak of Satan, again ascribed the endless series of temptations of this kind to God Himself, and bewailing the multitude of afflictions which in the growing confusion of this later age God sent upon man, thereby lost the faith that might have coped with them. The best teaching of the Book of Job, and of many of the finest parts of the Old Testament, was thus perversely overlooked in common life, — a neglect which could never have more disastrous consequences than in an age when from other causes pusillanimity threatened to work so much mischief. At such a time James[4] had recourse to public admonition, and declared that no one

[1] § 221 (3), p. 73.

[2] ὁ πειράζων, Matt. iv. 3.

[3] As Ecclus. ii. 1, vi. 6, xxxvi. 1; Luke viii. 13, xi. 4; Acts xx. 19; 1 Cor. x. 13; and elsewhere.

[4] It is noticeable that James, so far as his words go, does not suggest that such temptation is of Satan; in the only passages where he speaks of demons and Satan (ii. 19, iv. 7), they stand remotely enough from his familiar thought.

ought to say and think he was tempted of God, *i.e.* allured to sin and afflicted; but he does not utter his warning against such a perversion of the thought of God without adding, as the occasion demanded, a full and definite exposition of the human origin of all sin.

2. *An Empty Faith.*

§ 310. The same James opportunely corrects another misconception that might ultimately but in a wholly different way be especially prejudicial to the free spontaneity of faith. When Paul, somewhat earlier than the other apostles, had given to faith, as the perfected true religion now required it, contents at once both definite and copious, and the Epistles in which he so presented it were widely diffused and highly esteemed, it began to be considered in some quarters that the contents themselves, as such, were the chief thing, and that he was a true Christian who merely imprinted these contents upon his memory and repeated them publicly in some brief formulary as a kind of "confession" before the world. In fact, many passages may be found in the New Testament in which the word faith bears this signification, and is almost exactly equivalent to what we now term Christian doctrine.[1] But considered in its essential nature, faith is a faculty and power of the human mind, and it loses all its potency at once,—a potency just as wonderful as it is salutary when such faculty is fairly exercised,—if it be made interchangeable with its verbal contents, and regarded in the pressure of life's conflict as something which it really is not. The more copious and distinct its contents are, and the greater its power in moving the will of man, the less is it of service if thus misconceived. But, alas! just these verbal contents of it, rich and splendid as they are, and, historically viewed, won

[1] Namely in such connections of discourse as were noticed above in § 302, p. 229; Rom. i. 5 does not, however, belong to this class of passages.

with such great difficulty, are a temptation to many to be so much the more satisfied with them alone. That such a danger even in the apostolic age might show itself when, owing to the imprisonment of the great apostle of faith and to many other calamities that bitterly disappointed the first buoyant hopes of Christianity in its youth, a great apostasy seemed imminent, is historically established. Inasmuch as Paul had inculcated [1] that for those who are under the influence and power of faith in Christ, the works of the law, prescribed in the Old Testament or deduced from it by the schools as essential to justification before God, were no longer binding, it was supposed by some that works in general as accompanying faith were now superfluous, and that even the spirit of love might be dispensed with. By such misapprehension of the words of the apostle, seeking to excuse their growing indolence in an evil time, they hindered not a little, through such pretended faith, the progress and diffusion of genuine faith. In the midst of prevailing corruption faith that is real has the power to save the soul of man, and the body too so far as may be possible; but this idle, empty or dead faith could neither restrain corruption from within nor repel it from without.[2] For if the free spontaneous working of faith be once annihilated in this way, only indolence on the part of man will increase and spread. In absolutely rejecting, and in earnestly admonishing men against, a faith which proves itself by no works corresponding to its contents,—though in the world often spoken of as if it were real faith, —James completes everything of importance in the circle of things touching faith, and contends, not indeed against

[1] § 306, p. 259.

[2] The words "faith indeed cannot save him," that is, cannot save him who fails to attest his faith by corresponding works, Jas. ii. 14, only apparently contradict Christ's frequent word, "thy faith hath saved thee," Mark v. 34, x. 52; Luke xvii. 19. James means in that connection only such empty faith as Christ Himself condemns when occasion offers, Matt. vii. 21–23, xxv. 44 f.; and even Paul, according to Gal. v. 6, 1 Cor. xiii. 2, 7, Rom. ii. 13, and all that he elsewhere says, means precisely the same thing that in the last issue James also means.

Paul, but only against a perverse misapprehension of his words.[1]

XVI. THE NECESSITY AND SIGNIFICANCE OF FAITH IN CHRIST.

§ 313. The historical appearing of Christ, contemplated in its perfectly unique significance, extends in its relations so far back and so necessarily into the past, that notwithstanding its supreme speciality, only from that past can it be adequately understood. On the other hand, this transcendent historical event has exerted such determinative and inevitable influence upon the future,—a future, so far as it has already transpired, now for us also a long past,—that just as certainly even this future admits of adequate explanation only by means of it. No doubt something of like nature may be said of other historical men of special character and rare occurrence. The whole life and activity of Moses, for example, marked as they were by extraordinary and distinguishing features in that distant antiquity, can only be fully comprehended from the long series of centuries of great history through which already his people had passed; while his influence upon the future of the nation was such as no single hero of the kind in that high antiquity ever exerted. In a more restricted sense something akin to this may be said of Confucius, of Buddha, of Cyrus; and even of a Socrates and Aristotle, of an Alexander and Cæsar. But along with such similarity, even if outward events and circumstances only are considered, there is in relation to Christ an obvious and palpable dissimilarity. For in the case of Christ, not merely the entire past of His own

[1] Jas. ii. 14-28, agreeing with iii. 13, iv. 11. When will men cease to do grievous injustice to James? Why not rather be thankful to him that he thus expressed himself so soon and so decisively against prevailing error, error which still to-day seeks more and more perniciously to prevail, and has in recent time done incredible mischief? I restate here that James wrote in Paul's lifetime. We neither recognise his true merit nor comprehend his whole discourse if we place his Epistle in the period prior to Paul's great activity. Cf. *Sendschreiben an die Hebräer* (Göttingen, 1870), pp. 198-202.

immediate nation contributed to make His historical appearing and significance exactly what they were, but in the fulness and concurrence of circumstances that preceded may with justice be embraced the entire condition and previous most checkered history of all the lands which after the time of Alexander and Cæsar constituted an empire of the world, magnificent in its strength, and pre-eminent even in its attainments in science and art. Nay more, the highest conceivable powers which from the very beginning could enter into a history of the development of humanity also lent their contribution to this great end. That subsequently to such historical appearing of Christ, the effects and issues which from His perfected earthly life and work at once became conspicuous in the world, were of the most mighty and incomparable spiritual significance; that they continue even till now with increasing persistence and power; that in most recent times, notwithstanding the existence of open and concealed foes, they have diffused themselves with undiminished energy into the whole world of mankind, until they have penetrated into remote regions unknown in ancient days;—all this can no one deny who does not estrange himself from all the truth of history and all the teaching of current events.

§ 321. But the imperishable and eternal fruit of the whole work of Christ may be said to be comprehended in two immortal boons for the whole of humanity, the greatest that could possibly be bestowed upon our race in the midst of the long and changeful course of its history, or that can be bestowed upon it to-day, and that must ever remain the greatest in all the ages to come. To distinguish and mark well these gifts, with the means of their appropriation, is of first importance, and to this task we now proceed.

1. By His earthly manifestation Christ gives to all men for ever the one luminous, fully adequate, perfect example of the perfect divinely-human life; and presents it suffused with a charm that irresistibly wins spontaneous and loyal imitation.

The model and pattern has nothing meagre and trivial about it, but is lofty enough for those who aspire after the highest type of character, while it is sufficiently lucid and clear for the dimmer and duller vision. Rich and manifold in its breadth, it meets the need alike of the learned and the unlearned, of those who know the deepest of life's sorrows or the most elevated of its joys. So universal and abiding is its significance, that it remains the only all-sufficient example for the whole future of the human race. None shrink from contemplating it but such as dare not cast a direct and steady glance upon the life that is pure and spotless, transcendent and eternal; and all who have once beheld with clear and open vision its gentleness and splendour, its earnestness and love, are drawn towards it irresistibly and permanently by its undying charm. If humanity is at all so constituted and adjusted that at any time it shall win for itself all the blessings it is appointed to win, here at last has come One who, untouched by all sin, abides in the purest and most complete obedience to the divine will that He may call others to a similar perfection. And yet this whole example that has now entered into the clear light of history would find among men no corresponding adaptation and be almost wholly useless, if Christ had not been fully man,[1] so that men might have had an excuse if in their respective callings in life they refused to follow Him. But they have no such excuse. As Columbus broke open the way into the New World, so that a great multitude might follow in his track, so Christ has broken open for even a more innumerable host the highway that leads not simply to the half of a human world, but to the New World of eternal and complete perfection.

2. But as in the case of other men the earthly appearing

[1] If we estimate aright all that lies in his words, historically in their full extent and range, no writer in the New Testament makes this more prominent than the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, ii. 10 f., iv. 14–16, v. 1–9, xiii. 11, 12. But, strictly taken, John does not deviate from this truth in his extremely sharp and distinct words, i. 14.

and activity is not all that has to be taken into account, since every member of the race has also in the infinite host of men a special relation to the ultimate goal of this whole existing human creation, towards which all are moving, and takes some particular place in the unceasing progress towards it, so is it also with Christ. There is a work of God which extends through this whole present creation to a new yet gloriously perfected future creation; this work of God of infinite significance is to become completed by means of mankind itself, which it aims to lead onward to its final goal. But in the midst of the course of it and before the eyes of the world stands Christ in unique significance, the brilliant light to this goal for all humanity, and the mightiest impulse and security for its ultimate attainment on the only right path. All that had been truly known and won in the old community of the true religion upon this path was gathered up in Him to its highest power and splendour, in order through Him to become the stedfast and irrefragable basis of a still higher development of all mankind. Without Him all the mighty fruitful beginnings of progress towards perfection which had already arisen in Israel would have been wasted and annulled; but His truth and the energy of His spirit reach back into all the far foretime, and will remain throughout the whole present human creation the stedfast security and support of all earnest endeavour after perfection. That He is this bright unquenchable light in the whole history of the world, in which all antiquity first finds its luminous clearness, and all the future its radiant hope; that He remains this firm unshaken stay in all the changes of the still coming unrest of the world,—this is the second boon for all humanity which He alone could bring, and which He actually brought in the only fitting and appropriate way.

§ 322. Here then lies the necessity of faith in Christ as the Bible demands it. If we take the first of the supreme benefits humanity owes to Him,—the example He has left us,—this

necessity is apparent. That example is not a kind of model for some particular occupation or art of life, requiring only a provisional faith for its full appropriation, but demanding neither a belief with the whole soul, nor a belief of such a nature as to exclude the thought of the possibility of a better model. On the contrary, it is the one supreme, ever-abiding example of the whole humanly-divine life; nothing higher is conceivable; and as it has been given to us once for all, every man everywhere in every moment of his existence should freely and spontaneously yield to it supreme and absolute faith. But the second of the two benefits is inseparable from the first. Faith in Christ must therefore ever direct itself to Him as the only perfect Mediator between God and man, standing in the midst as the central point of the whole work of God with humanity, connecting the original beginning of it with its ultimate end, and outlasting it. Both together form the eternal constituents of a faith of infinite splendour and sublimity which nothing is to restrict but the directing of its glance at the same time to God Himself. And indeed faith in Christ from its first rise could find its roots only in faith in the truth of God and His promises, promises given and made intelligible to this community, and therefore remaining and abiding within it. But how soon and with what spontaneity faith in Christ grew up in the community, subsequently to the work of Christ in its midst, may be very clearly recognised in the Bible.

Christ did not come like Mohammed, having in the outset to urge belief in God and "His messenger." The commonwealth in which He appeared was much too old, too firmly based and highly developed, and suggested to the mind too constantly the great work of God with men, to necessitate His making such an abrupt, harsh, more than doubtful, egotistic demand. The only thing He demanded from the first was faith in the gospel He preached.[1] To be sure, this gospel

[1] The original narrative of this initial event has been preserved in its completeness only in Mark i. 15; but the substance of it is presupposed in the other

as He apprehended it, and in the full consciousness of which He above all others lived, was wholly new. But it had its roots in the stedfastly-cherished Messianic expectations, and contained in itself elements which on their purely divine side were ever before the mind of Christ. That the perfected true religion must be revealed upon earth and firmly established among men, and that now in Him from the time of His first public activity it was actually present among them, this is the great truth in which Christ from the beginning demanded faith; and everywhere where He discourses of faith, whether briefly of faith itself, or of its necessity and power, it is this particular and definite belief He means. In this way Christ places Himself as an individual man in subserviency to His high objective aim, and does not press to the front His outward manifestation, His human person, with its contingencies and possible weaknesses, as that in which faith is required.

But in point of fact Christ always worked among men as the Son and Word of God must work. There came moments, therefore, in His public ministry when the faith that had long been glowing, cherished in the gospel, turned suddenly and spontaneously towards Himself, and was expressed in open or half-uttered joy.[1] All the Gospels, even that of John, show conspicuously enough how faith in Him, which with most men was hesitating, even if it were not altogether disdained, grew in the progress of time, becoming at least with some less wavering, firmer, and more and more stedfast. Nevertheless, in the first three Gospels such a phrase as "those who believe in Me," stands entirely isolated.[2] John only accustomed himself to greater freedom in reproducing the words and thought of his Lord; and in his vivid reminiscences, Christ

Gospels; and without it such subsequent expressions of Christ as Luke xvii. 21 are unintelligible.

[1] Narratives like Matt. xvi. 15–19, John vi. 67–69, give prominence to some of the most notable moments of those years.

[2] Only in Mark ix. 42, Matt. xviii. 6, is this phrase found in the first three Gospels; in Luke nothing of the kind anywhere appears.

often says, "those who believe in the Son," or "in Me."[1] But no one shows more distinctly than John what difference there is between "believing" a person, and "believing in" him, even where the former phrase is used by Christ Himself.[2] To believe in Christ is to rely upon Him with trustful heart, and with the whole force of the mind; but this, just as much as "believing" Him, involves believing in the Light (the Logos), so that all earthly illusions vanish.[3]

By His death on the cross, it is true, faith in Christ was for the moment profoundly shaken; but it was shaken only to rise up again the more gloriously and indestructibly to the glorified One, and to transfer itself even in the apostolic age from the few who already believed in Him to an innumerable host. If it be asked which of the two aspects of faith above mentioned wrought such wonderful changes in the hearts of men, it is not to be doubted that the pattern and example of life Christ left behind at once made upon His immediate disciples an impression that was ineffaceable, and that without it the whole belief in Him which apostles and early Christians cherished is not at all conceivable. As no immediate eye-witness of the Lord, the Apostle Paul might be content to speak little of His example;[4] but other New Testament writers plainly enough point to it.[5] Nevertheless, the remembrance of this example was not itself sufficient in those terrible moments to restore their confidence again. The one question confronting man in all such profound trials is the

[1] Apart from John iii. 15–36, these phrases return in vi. 35–64, vii. 38, ix. 35 f., xi. 25 f., xii. 44–50; cf. xii. 36, xiv. 12, xvi. 9.

[2] In Mark xi. 31, Matt. xxi. 25–32, this distinction may be observed in Christ's own mouth; throughout, in John's Gospel, it shows itself in many discourses, as v. 46 f., viii. 45 f.; or as x. 37 f., "If ye believe me not, yet believe the works." The rest of the New Testament writers make this distinction also; and in cases like Mark i. 15, ἐν is found Hebraistically for εἰς. Yet Paul lifts up εἰς into ἐπί, giving prominence to the elevation of Him in whom faith is to be placed, Rom. iv. 5, 24, ix. 33.

[3] John x. 36, cf. with its further exposition, 44–50.

[4] 2 Cor. viii. 9, Rom. xv. 3, Phil. ii. 6–8, are the only passages bearing upon the subject.

[5] 1 Pet. ii. 21–24, and the Epistle to the Hebrews. Cf. p. 272.

question that was uppermost in this supreme case, viz. whether the pure consciousness of the divine presence and power were to be retained or not. Just as Christ in the last moments of His earthly life held tenaciously the conviction of His unique mission as Son and Word of God, with all the divine promises inseparable from it, so upon the minds of the disciples, as soon as the least external check was felt, the image of the purely immortal Christ, for ever the same, came with surprising force and irresistible clearness and certainty. After the first and most powerful revulsion from their dumb astonishment and fear, what must come, happened. The Risen One, who had certainly been beheld, was regarded with the deepest affection of the heart as the Son and Word of God, raised at length in His purely heavenly infinitude above all human decay and variableness. Temporary agitation and alarm were changed into happy security and repose. Wholly born again as disciples of Christ, the full power of the Christian life was realized, and the outlook into the future irradiated with a hope and confidence nothing could destroy. The meaning of resurrection and future glory became now for the first time apparent. Christianity without the visible Christ was born upon the earth. The bond between Christ and His disciples, which had been broken by wicked and wanton violence, was restored and made stedfast and indissoluble. God's great work with mankind in His creation, instead of being suppressed, went forward again with mighty progress, the mightiest possible to it while it was yet in the midst of its historical course.[1] Upon the lofty stage of faith in God and Christ also, now newly won, the remembrance of Christ's example of life returned with increased vividness,

[1] In the Christian mind there is no doubt of Christ's resurrection; but how it is to be historically understood still remains to be determined; and since now by enemies of Christ everything historical in the Bible is either wholly obscured or distorted or denied, this question cannot longer be evaded. In our subsequent discussions it will return in its whole compass and extent. To the resurrection is closely annexed the glorification (the δόξα), but not till the ascension is this thought of as the beginning of the perfect heavenly repose, as also it is celebrated in the church-song, 1 Tim. iii. 16.

and became in its earthly radiance, and with all the imperishable promises attaching to the Ascended One to whom it now pointed, the universal example of all who aspire after spiritual perfection.

§ 323. Faith in Christ, therefore, as it shaped itself on the third day after the Crucifixion, shaped itself as it must henceforth remain among men without material change. More definite statements, however, are needed to show the purer form this faith assumed from the dawning of this creation-day of the New World. Such more definite statements do not relate to the example Christ has left behind to all His disciples for the guidance of the earthly life. No doubt at all could exist upon this subject, after the collection of the reminiscences of the best of the Gospels. But how Christ is to be apprehended with respect to the eternity that is past and that which is to come, this might become more definitely conceived; and it is the first part of this twofold question we would now discuss.

There are only two names and ideas, different in themselves, which relate to the Messiah, and prior to the historical Christ blend together in Him, and seek mutual adjustment, viz. the Son of God and the Logos. The name, Son of David, was originally synonymous with the Hebrew, Messiah, or the Greek, Christos, but in the history of Christ it occurs only rarely, and with a national significance.[1] The name, Son of God, was indeed at first but the higher name accompanying this;[2] but it had long received an incomparably grander significance as the thought that they were to be sons of God gradually faded away among the later descendants of the race of Abraham.[3] The name "our Lord," generally abbreviated in Greek to "the Lord,"[4] is fundamen-

[1] Matt. ix. 27, xii. 23, xv. 22, xx. 30 f., xxi. 9, 15; Mark x. 47 f.; Luke xviii. 38 f.; cf. John vii. 42. These references show how much the remembrance of this name gradually receded in the Gospels, although it could never be wholly lost.

[2] From Ps. ii. 7; 2 Sam. vii. 14; Ps. lxxxix. 26 f., but exalted in significance.

[3] § 304 (3), p. 249.

[4] "Our Lord" has a solemnity and impressiveness in 2 Thess. i. 8, 12, ii. 1, 14, iii. 6, 12, 18; 1 Thess. i. 3, ii. 19, iii. 11, 13, v. 9, 23, 28; cf. Rev. xi. 8, 15,

tally equal and similar in signification to the names already mentioned. It is used conjointly with the simpler Christos as the peculiar name of honour; and even by itself it sufficiently designates Christ when in briefer discourse the context calls us to think of Him in distinction from God. The name "son of man," originally taken from the Book of Daniel, and very suitable in the case of heavenly visions, comes into use purely through Christ's human kindliness and self-abnegation, and therefore only during His earthly life, and chiefly in His own utterances, as a word of gentler sound than those majestic names and titles;[1] as indeed in higher discourse, when uplifted in thought above His ordinary human work, He introduces the name "Lord."[2] In the apostolic age, however, this flexible name "Lord" is most frequently employed. On the other side stands the name and idea of the purely heavenly "Logos," which long before Christ's earthly life sought to adjust itself with that of the "Son of God," and served so much to invest it with glory. These two names, the Logos and the Son of God, are both of greatest moment, not merely by their essential significance, but also by their rare and elevated use. But if Christ, when He had to call attention to the highest element in His divine mission,[3] preferred not the former but the latter on account of its more human import and its correlation with the idea of God as Father, yet in the apostolic period a marked change took place. For whatever the immense significance both then and now to be found in the relation of love between the Father and the Son, still the whole undiminished power and glory of the heavenly Logos, as it appeared humanly in Christ, comes now into the foreground of contemplation, and of all further expectation and hope. Only in the affluence, splendour, and power of the heavenly Logos, permeating and filling the whole universe from eternity

xxii. 21; and it is found proportionately nowhere more frequently than in the Epistles to the Thessalonians, as the earliest of Paul's writings; cf. also § 230, p. 98.

[1] *History*, vi. 231.

[2] Mark xi. 3; Matt. xxi. 3.

[3] According to Matt. xvi. 16, xiv. 33, xxi. 37 ff., xxii. 2, 42, xxiv. 36, xxvi. 63.

to eternity, did the thought, directed to Christ in His earthly appearing, and from thence surveying the whole world and all time, find a full clear light in which to interpret that earthly appearing in its relation to all the past and all the future. But on the other side of it, the idea of the Logos is rather of purely celestial than national import, arising from profounder reflection, and belonging to the loftier style of discourse. As therefore with Christ Himself, so with His followers, the gulf existing between the two kinds of name and idea had to be bridged over, and a more familiar and comprehensive view to arise. However rapidly this took place, as indeed happened with all that belonged to the early Christian development, we can still trace in the New Testament writings the stages of this progress.

1. First of all we turn to the General Epistle of James, a work in many respects very peculiar, written subsequently to Paul's great Epistles, yet nevertheless following the oldest and simplest views and usages as they arose in the primitive community. This brother of the Lord, in high esteem in the early Church, nowhere designates Christ the Son of God. Commonly he speaks of Him as the Lord Jesus Christ, more briefly the Lord, so that only from the context is it apparent whether God or Christ is meant by this simple name.[1] Yet in one passage[2] James seizes the opportunity to express the highest view of Christ that in the proper place could be presented. He is speaking directly of the right way of holding faith in Him, and he designates Him by a bold but not impossible combination of words, "Our Lord Jesus Christ of glory."[3] According to the standing usage of the language of

[1] Notwithstanding the words in the superscription, i. 1, "the Lord" with James everywhere means God, excepting in the sentences towards the close, v. 7 f., 14 f., where the drift of the sentences shows Christ is meant.

[2] Jas. ii. 1. That the idea of the Lord may very well be distinguished from that of Christ is evident from Acts ii. 36.

[3] The expression "cherubim of glory," Heb. ix. 5, is from a somewhat later time; still further there occurs in a suitable connection of discourse, Eph. i. 17, the phrase "Father of glory," *i.e.* the Father who comprehends all glory in Himself, God.

the Bible, the glory so briefly expressed is divine glory; and the "Christ of glory" is He who is not to be thought of at all without such divine glory. But this visible effulgent glory in which God appears to the world is, according to conceptions [1] which at that time had been long prevalent, none other than the Logos; so that this Christ as He has been manifest to the world and now abides with God is coincident with the Logos; and we may add, in the sense of the whole New Testament, if He once appeared without this visible heavenly glory, yet at any moment He may now appear from heaven with it as the Judge of the world. If, then, James does not designate Christ the Logos, he yet represents the "Word of Truth" as it was revealed to the world from the lips of Christ in the gospel,[2] as conspicuously the means whereby God has created anew Christian disciples, a kind of "first-fruits of His creations," a community which being regenerated first among all men in the world presents itself also to God as an acceptable offering of first-fruits. It cannot, therefore, be denied that James, although he does not regard it as necessary in this writing to represent Christ as conspicuously the Son of God, and therein agrees with other writings of the primitive community,[3] nevertheless in connection with another idea ascribes to Him the supreme glory which is ultimately involved in the name. But one of the finest features of the earliest Gospels is that without putting the glory of Christ as the Son of God conspicuously in the foreground, they show from the mere substance and character of the successive reminiscences of His earthly life that He *must* be the Son of God.[4] And what could in the end be more convincing, or lead more persuasively to faith in Him, than this? It may therefore be

[1] *History*, vii. 215 ff.

[2] Jas. i. 18; cf. the further description, 21-23.

[3] The superscription of Mark's Gospel, i. 1, according to the Codex Sinait., may here be taken; and it is to be remembered that Peter in the Acts (iii. 15, v. 31) speaks only of the "Prince of Life," and the "Prince and Saviour" (repeated Heb. ii. 10, xii. 2), and in his Epistle does not use the name Son of God.

[4] Cf. the *Drei ersten Evangelien*, i. p. 184; and the grand inference on the lips of a heathen, Mark xv. 39; Matt. xxvii. 54.

said, that almost as simply as the visible Christ discoursed of Himself among His disciples, do they who once stood nearest to Him discourse in the New Testament of their now glorified Lord.

§ 324. 2. The new and suggestive way in which Paul contemplates Christ's appearing, and unites with it in the closest bonds all the deepest and most vital elements of his faith, marks a great further progress in the development of thought upon this subject. It is true that in relation to the chief conceptions of the unique divine elevation and glory of Christ before mentioned, he adds nothing essentially new; ever since he became a Christian these ideas possessed to his mind from the first an immovable stedfastness. His rich and versatile spirit, with that wonderful combination of sagacity and enraptured joy which everywhere distinguishes him, but traces out the thoughts and truths these ideas involve, and blends together all the varied and accordant notes as in one lofty strain of heavenly harmony. For this reason the representation of Christ as the Son of God is very frequently employed in his writings, and on account of the idea of infinite love that essentially belongs to it, is indeed, just as with Christ Himself, the favourite representation. On the basis of this conception of Christ's Sonship, having regard to His actual appearing here on earth as it took place, and to the old sacred intuitions and hopes inseparably associated with the glorified Messiah, there grew up before Paul's mind with new vividness a new image of the divine connection of all human things.[1] For the deliverance of humanity from its palpable universal corruption, it was necessary that Christ should be born in the flesh of the race of David, conformably

[1] What Paul briefly, because incidentally, mentions in 2 Cor. viii. 9, Rom. xv. 3, i. 4, cf. 1 Tim. iii. 16, he purposely enlarges upon in Phil. ii. 6–11. The words *υἱὸς θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει* in Rom. i. 4, must be closely connected as in antithesis to our feeble human nature; the following *κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης* must be understood as in antithesis to *κατὰ σάρκα*, of the rule of the higher life in accordance with which He was ultimately rewarded; and *ἐξ ἀναστάσεως* must be taken purely temporally. The sense is thus completed on all sides, briefly but with clearness and point.

with the old prophecies. But since as Logos, and therefore the most spiritual and effulgent of all Beings apart from God, He existed from the beginning in divine form, He might have taken up His abode among men in visible and resplendent glory and ruled as Almighty God, casting down at once in His potent sway all that opposed itself against Him. But to give to men the right pattern and example as Son of God, He did not, as men in common would have done, regard it as proper to take advantage of the opportunity for His own honour in any self-pleasing, as though spoil lay before His feet to be grasped with eager and material hands; but He disrobed Himself of His heavenly dignity, becoming of His own will a man like all men, nay, a bondservant[1] and a poor man, allowing Himself therefore to be exposed to misjudgment and persecution, and all the time being simply obedient in all things to the will of God, even at last to the utter degradation of the cross. Having thus fulfilled perfectly God's will to the extremest point, and in this way given to all men directly the supreme example of all true religion, He attained the divinely predetermined reward as the absolutely Sinless One; and through the "spirit of holiness" that ruled Him being victorious over death, He became "the Son of God with power" after His resurrection, being exalted to the heavens and honoured supremely by all, next to God alone, as the only true Mediator between God and man.

Such is the clear and distinct outfashioning of the idea of Christ, considered in His significance prehistorically, historically, and henceforth eternally for all mankind. Such idea could not but take shape immediately after the dawn of the apostolic age; and it subsequently maintains itself without variation, and alone prevails in the New Testament. It may be said to blend the representation of Christ as the Son of God with that of the Logos to a new whole of such beautiful fitness and

[1] As δοῦλος, Phil. ii. 7, because in the Roman provinces all who were not Roman citizens were regarded as public slaves, and when put to death as rebels were crucified, not beheaded. Paul's use of this word points in this direction.

proportion that the former becomes its innermost heart of love, the latter its outward splendour and glory. The Apostle Paul, however, did not create the conception. From the first moment of the apostolic age it lay before him already in its fundamental materials and in its necessity: he deals with it everywhere as already given. The only thing which at the first glance should surprise us to-day is that the apostle in the epistles preserved to us, just as James and Peter in their writings, nowhere applies the name Logos to Christ. But this is readily explained by what has been already said.[1] Christ is always and pre-eminently the King of the true kingdom of God, who is actually to appear or has already appeared. He did not come in the effulgent form of the Logos. The writers of the New Testament, therefore, and even John as well, everywhere hesitate to call the historical Christ the Logos; they love rather the name of Christ only, simple as it is, and yet, rightly understood, amply sufficient.[2] Most obviously is this seen with respect to the name Logos in the Apocalypse, written not long after Paul. A marked peculiarity is given to the work in that it introduces, according to its artistic plan, the entire body of ideas and names that could be employed in the primitive community for Christ, both those that were common and those that were rare and suited only for certain circumstances; and it introduces them not in one brilliant series skilfully arranged, but scattered throughout the whole book according as their significance harmonized with the development of its great theme. Thus the relative import of these names and ideas in minute detail becomes clearer, the whole art of the presentation greater, and the ultimate impression decidedly more powerful. It is this that invests the Apocalypse with so much special instructiveness for us; but it is easy to see on closer contemplation that in its entire view of Christ it fully agrees with Paul. After the seer (1)

[1] § 323, p. 278 f.

[2] As is most evident in 1 Cor. x. 4, where indeed the pre-Christian Logos is at once characterized as Christ.

in the introduction has connected with the principal name, Jesus Christ, the three heavenly characterizations—"the true witness," "the firstborn from the dead," "the prince of the kings of the earth,"[1] and also three human characterizations—"who loved us," and "cleansed us from our sins in His blood," and "made us a kingdom" . . . with three others;[2] to those ten he adds (2) at the headings of the seven epistles seven other names and conceptions, among which that which occupies the central place is "the Son of God," whilst the last, "the beginning of the creation of God," points extremely significantly to the primordial Logos. Then follow in what is the Apocalypse in the stricter sense, extending from chapter iv. 1 to chapter xxii. 7, five other names and conceptions of Christ,[3] amongst which the central one, "the Lamb as if it had been slain," is continually repeated, as a figure the eye is never to lose sight of. But far away above the title "Son of man" there follows as the lofty, amazing, and sublime conclusion,—yet not till the actual commencement of the judgment of the world,—"the Logos of God." So manifestly, therefore, is He not to step forth in visible glory until the close of the whole development of the present world.

§ 325. How certainly the Apocalypse, in its peculiar and artistically-graphic presentation, gives to us in this way only the same great intuition which the Apostle Paul shared with entire Christendom in its first age, may be especially seen in one idea and word, which indeed is just as little found in the passages of his Epistles before mentioned as in the Apocalypse, and which nevertheless preserves for us this great intuition, and is the briefest and most usual expression of it. In the glorious form and the mighty power of the Logos, Christ will not appear until the end of the world's development; but

[1] Rev. i. 5. [2] Rev. i. 8.

[3] "The Lion of the Tribe of Judah," "the Root of David," Rev. v. 5; "the Lamb" from v. 6 onwards; "One like to a Son of man," xiv. 14, with reference to Dan. vii. 13, to Rev. i. 13, and the Son of man of the Gospels; to which is at length added with entire appropriateness "the Logos of God," xix. 13. The seven that follow from xxi. 6 to xxii. 13, 16, are only repetitions.

then He will come as the Judge of the world, and the initiator of the visibly perfected kingdom of God. Such is, as we have seen, the second half of all belief in Christ, as it thrilled the first community of disciples, and even in the apostolic period sounded through the world. The Greek word Parousia signifies the being here, the not being wanting, the presence of any one; but when the drift of discourse implies a lengthened or momentary absence, it means the appearing or arrival of such person.[1] To believe, therefore, in the surely expected Parousia of Christ, who had now been forcibly taken from the sight of His disciples, was so well understood in itself that it was commonly referred to by this brief word only. Paul, as well as all New Testament writers, uses it as a standing expression intelligible to all Christians.[2] But from the beginning, the idea of this word in its relation to Christ suggested, to all who were familiar with the ancient sacred conceptions of the community, the glorious appearing of the true God as He came to the help of His people, of which the sacred antiquity of this community spoke, and in which, according to the long prevalent intuition

[1] Thus παρουσία is employed by Paul in an ordinary way of the coming and presence of man, as in 1 Cor. xvi. 17; 2 Cor. vii. 6 f.; Phil. i. 26, ii. 12. Especially evident is this meaning and usage in 2 Cor. x. 10.

[2] So most frequently in the earliest Epistles, 2 Thess. ii. 1, 8 f.; 1 Thess. ii. 19, iii. 13, iv. 15, v. 23; then 1 Cor. xv. 23; Jas. v. 7 f.; 1 John ii. 28; 2 Pet. iii. 4, 12. In the text of the Gospels, however, according to all indications (cf. Luke xvii. 26 f.), it is admitted only by the hand of the last editor, as in Matthew (xxiv. 3, 27, 37 f.). As the word had already received this definite signification, in a late writing (2 Pet. iii. 13) "the Parousia," *i.e.* "the arrival of the day of the Lord," is spoken of. But in the earliest (2 Thess. ii. 8), in a discourse of unusual elevation, the genuine royal word ἐπιφάνεια, referring to the "flashing forth of the appearing of our Lord," is suitably employed in harmony with the original conception; and this word, borrowed from the description of the coming into view of a splendid royal pageant, is found in the late Pastoral Epistles wholly in place of the παρουσία in the Christian sense, 1 Tim. vi. 14; 2 Tim. i. 10, iv. 1, 8; Tit. ii. 13, where τῆς δόξης is added; cf. § 323, p. 280; and it becomes more and more frequent in ecclesiastical writings. The corresponding Hebrew word is, in Rabbinical language but not in the Bible, שְׁכִינָה; and to this, in Hellenistic Greek, παρουσία actually answers, Josephus, *Arch.* III. viii. 5. That the Vulgate always gives *adventus* for παρουσία has not helped to make clear and intelligible the original import of the word.

of those ages, was seen not immediately God Himself, but rather an embassy and representative from Him, the angel of Jahveh.[1] Something of that venerable antiquity seemed to return, but the very highest conceivable, indeed surpassing in power over men even the grandest divine presentment of that earlier time, and possessing eternal glory. Whatever is divine will, in the course of history, before it becomes altogether and for ever victorious among men, break forth irrepressibly, revealing itself at rare moments in luminous rays of splendour in token and certain proof of its presence. Moreover, the expectant spirit, filled with hallowed memories of the past, is, in such times, prepared for such manifestations. It happened, therefore, that early in the apostolic period, a moment of this kind is recorded when, before the last journey of the Lord to Jerusalem, a glorious transfiguration occurred both to Him and His nearest disciples, a brief but ever-memorable prelude of the imperishable glory He shall at last bring upon the world, and an attestation that no doubt, not even the least, is admissible concerning "the power and coming" of the Logos-Christ, although for a long time He may continue to be hidden from the sight of men.[2]

§ 326. But if Paul so far only holds fast with peculiar

[1] Cf. § 216 (3), p. 68.

[2] That the original import of the story of the Transfiguration (Mark ix. 2–8) is disclosed to us in the earliest reference to it, 2 Pet. i. 16–21, is evident, if it is remembered that the "power and appearing of our Lord," mentioned in ver. 16, is indeed the same that is elsewhere meant in the whole of the New Testament, and cannot otherwise be understood than in opposition to His bodily appearing in weakness and lowliness; and that here there is an obvious illustrative allusion to the significant moment of that glorious visible appearing which itself is the prefiguration of the great Future. The word ἐπόπτης used in this passage is taken from the Eleusinian mysteries, and points to this [*i.e.* ἐπόπται, "eye-witnesses," initiated spectators of His glory and majesty]; cf. *Die Sieben Sendschreiben des N. Bs.*, p. 124 f. In the Latin Church a *geminus adventus Domini* was distinguished in the early days—

primo in humilitate despectus
secundo in potestate regali præclarus,

as is said in the old Muratorian *fragm. de Canone*, z. 23–26, following an old church-hymn that probably treated this question in a creative way; but the original Biblical import of the Parousia is thus obscured.

fervency the same form of faith in Christ which had been already previously established, he yet added at least in two aspects something essentially new which became through him of large significance. Both relate to the right way as well of understanding as of appropriating the second of the two abiding benefits[1] which Christ bestows upon mankind.

How little the mere example of Christ sufficed in itself alone to transform His contemporaries to a better life we have seen already.[2] Even His immediate disciples, who had this example continually before their eyes, were not so firmly established by it in the higher life of faith that at the end of His earthly course they could be regarded as fully born again. So certain is it that a whole nation may be sunk so deeply in the perverse conceptions of long centuries, that only new forces and events of the greatest power can uplift even the best of them to a new and better life. But just this, unexpected as it was, took place, and by aid of the second benefit Christ's advent and work involved. The perfect humanly-divine life, having appeared on earth in its unique reality, could not be annihilated again by the violence of its foes, but rather the whole connection of the divine purpose on earth, broken as it seemed to man, proved indestructible, and the slain Son of God rose again clothed with even mightier power. All this the apostles saw. The promise of Christ to His own immediate followers was quickly fulfilled; and the possibility of the transfiguring of our whole human life, apparently destroyed for ever, was made good and established by its own glorified Author. As the disciples now saw themselves by this experience suddenly advanced to a wholly new and higher life, set free from their earlier errors and sins, and in close spiritual contiguity with the glorified Christ who stood near at hand as the Judge of the world, so they found in themselves the wonderful power to declare to all the world the assurance that the higher life, free from the burden of earlier errors and sins, was now a given possibility, and to

[1] § 321, p. 273. [2] § 322, p. 276 f.

exhort men everywhere to participate in it, pointing to the death and certain return of the infinitely elevated One. The murder of an innocent person had always been regarded from the earliest commencement of this community as the most heinous crime, to be expiated by the deepest penitence;[1] yet what is the murder of an innocent man of the ordinary type compared with that of the Son of God! But the crime, apparently impossible even to thought, had been committed; and the first freer retrospect to that unalterable fact, the irresistible impulse to find in this horrible darkness a divine light, and especially the reminiscence of some anticipatory words of Christ Himself respecting His temporal end,[2] were sufficient to throw into these open honest souls the light of a true apprehension of this most difficult divine problem. Without the divine possibility nothing happens. In this murder, and in the certainty that as the Son of God and the Judge of the world He still lives, what else can be involved but the most powerful admonition of God to men now at least henceforth to violate no more the glorified One as the anointed of God and the coming Judge of the world, but to honour Him in His true character, and so escape the divine punishment which must come upon the whole world on account of His disdainful rejection and murder if it will not now recognise Him in His truth! So simple was the earliest apostolic view and apprehension of the benefit Christ confers as the only true Mediator in the work of God with mankind.[3]

Paul, however, carries forward this view with his own peculiar glow of thought and discourse as he applies to Christ's death on the cross the idea of sacrifice taken from an Old Testament passage,[4] here incidentally brought into considera-

[1] *Antiquities*, 170 f.

[2] As Matt. xx. 28, Mark x. 45, according to the "Collection of Discourses;" repeated from thence in such passages as Acts vii. 35; Luke i. 68, ii. 38; Heb. ix. 22; Tit. ii. 14.

[3] This is seen from Peter's earliest discourses, as they were manifestly restored as a whole from clear reminiscence, Acts ii. 14–36, 38–40, iii. 12–26.

[4] The words of the B. Isa. liii. were, according to Luke xxiv. 26 f., 1 Pet. ii.

tion; but he carries it forward with distant outlook to the whole world, as indeed the thought of the Logos allowed. Sacrifice, according to a very ancient conception, is a mediation between man and God, and moreover the supreme and most efficacious mediation, for averting especially the anger of God from the guilty; but always is sacrifice also a freewill offering of man seeking the good pleasure of God.[1] Now the weight of the perversities and sins of the human race had grown, in the course of thousands of years, to such an infinite degree that God was estranged from man in righteous indignation. This view of the situation of the world up to the time of Christ is in perfect accord with the language of the Old Testament. For the human race, sunk in error and sin, the most thorough of all purifications, viz. the purifications Moses had formerly established in the community of Israel, no longer for centuries realized their aim. Only by the long-suffering of God could this perversion of the relation between man and God so long continue; but God's long-suffering is at length exhausted. He then sent into the world His long promised Son, who alone remained the purely guiltless One, in order to seek a peaceful annulment of the enmity that had arisen between Him and man. But the world put to death His Son, and in this act aimed directly at God Himself, who was in Christ working to such peaceful end. Thus the whole relation was changed. It was now not merely as when an innocent man is murdered and the destructive force of the evil deed recoils upon the murderer; but the Innocent One, as Son of God, shows in the very highest degree His love as well to God as to man; for, knowing the Father's will that He must lay down His life on account of the enormous weight of the sins of the world, He surrendered it freely and in deepest pain as a sacrifice in obedience to Him, since just this supreme and most painful

23–25, Rev. v. 6 ff., very early referred to Christ, and certainly floated before the mind of the apostle as he built up his grand structure of thought.

[1] Compulsory sacrifices are so certainly of a later and more artificial kind, that they could not here come into consideration at all. Cf. *Antiquities*, 23 ff., 57 ff.

of all sacrifices was to be offered for the propitiation of that all-oppressive anger of God, in order that the great work of reconciliation which, through human guilt, did not take place by the peaceful method might in this way be accomplished. As, therefore, according to the ancient faith, at the very moment when the blood of the sacrificial victim is poured forth, and the priest announces the purification, guilt leaves at once the person of the guilty,[1] so, as God purposed, for the sake of His beloved Son,[2] and in answer to His intercession on man's behalf,[3] the incomparably precious blood of Christ in that very moment absolved the guilt of all mankind,—*i.e.* for all those who seek to be redeemed by Him in order to enter upon a new and sinless life according to His example,—whilst the same blood calls forth the vengeance of God for ever upon those who continue and persist in the sins of the Old World.[4] This bloody offering, the like of which never occurred before or since, stands thus in the centre between the Old and New World. It had to be offered to satisfy divine righteousness on account of the infinite weight of the sins of the world, their penalties being thrown upon Christ in order to their annulment, that by their annulment the way might be opened for the possibility of a New World freed from them. But since this new life, now opened, can be realized only by faith, it is as if in the glare of this blood God has set forth conspicuously before the eye a sin-offering for the whole

[1] "But as soon as this most sacred solemnity of the sprinkling of the blood was completed, then, according to the ancient belief, the impurity and guilt were shaken off from the object to which they had clung. It seemed as though the drops of blood, sprinkled by the mighty hand of One who was pure, called forth and irrestistibly drew out such impurity and guilt: for thus we must plainly interpret this procedure in accordance with the feeling of antiquity." —*Antiquities*, p. 63.

[2] "The Son of His love," Col. i. 13; cf. Mark i. 11, ix. 7, xii. 6, according to B. Isa. xlii. 1; Matt. xii. 18.

[3] This is self-evident in such connection.

[4] This aspect of the matter is presented in the Revelation from v. and vi. ff. onwards, because it is specially congruous with its chief contents; but the converted Paul also thinks of it with confidence. That the great forgiving of sin relates first of all to the sins of the world up to the moment of the death of the Redeemer, lies clearly in the words of Rom. v. 6–9; Col. ii. 14; Heb. ix. 15.

world to be appropriated by faith, in order to show, in that He justifies every one who believes in Christ, the rigour of His righteousness as to the Past, and His full restored love to mankind redeemed by Him. For in the last issue it is only the same eternal divine work, a supreme portion of which we see here in operation, so that it may also be said, "God was in Christ," so working that He "reconciled the world unto Himself," "not reckoning to men the crime" of the Old World, and for the New World establishing the apostolic "ministry of reconciliation;" and "He has made Him to be sin," *i.e.* the sin-offering, that thereby men might no longer be His anger (and curse), but become His righteousness (and His blessing).[1]

With such inexhaustible flow does the apostle's discourse proceed when he aims to give a clear understanding of this greatest mystery of the divine administration of the world; and subsequently even John follows on this subject the form of speech which Paul had established.[2]

§ 327. But however creative Paul is in this representation, he merits still more our admiration by the way in which he more particularly conceives of the appropriation of this service of Christ through faith. The chief incident of Christ's appearing, described in the previous paragraph, is ever present to him in all vividness, so that it is observable everywhere how firm is his faith in Christ, a faith adjusted by means of this chief incident. Yet it is nevertheless a special thought lying in that entire and largely comprehensive representation, from which he here proceeds. The world sought to kill Christ,

[1] The two chief passages, 2 Cor. v. 17–21, Rom. iii. 23–26, explain each other, and are sufficient for our purpose. They stand in a different connection, and reflect the hues of a different topic of discourse. Of so much the more weight is it that they nevertheless agree on the great point at issue. Apart from James, all the epistolary writers of the New Testament, and even Rev. i. 5, follow the apostle in these thoughts and images. Upon 2 Cor. v. 19 it is to be observed that Θεὸς ἦν ἐν Χριστῷ forms a proposition of itself, the more particular bearings of which then succeed. The import of the phrase is not one and the same with Θεὸς ἦν Χριστός, but points by such rare expression without doubt to the Logos.

[2] 1 John ii. 2, iv. 10; with the peculiar word ἱλασμός, cf. Heb. ii. 17; Rom. v. 7.

and in Him especially the Logos of God, who spoke and worked through Him. But if, according to God's eternal laws, all wrong-doing ultimately recoils upon him who does it; so here in this unique case. With all the sufferings ordained to come upon Him, the world might indeed put to death and bring to the grave all that was mortal in Christ, but what was immortal and divine in Him raised itself at once out of this deep abyss in order now, in unsullied glory victorious over death and the world, to gather together to a new humanity of purer life the host of those who live like Him in the world, and are transfigured by Him in the midst of it. This supremest event that was possible in the course of all divinely-human history, and for which the life and hope of all the pious souls of antiquity had prepared the way, has now actually occurred; and just because it is the supremest event it has happened once for all, it can never be repeated,[1] and there can neither be the expectation nor hope of the appearing of a new and still greater Redeemer. The perfect divinely-human life, so far as it could proceed and shine forth from one upon earth among men, and moreover in the community of the true God, has come. With this glorious advent everything old, as the immature or wholly corrupt, imperfect life of mankind, has passed away, and all has become new;[2] for the power of the errors and sins which oppressed humanity up to this moment, and led to the death of the absolutely Holy One,[3] is by the earthly Christ broken, and at last by the glorified Christ fully annihilated for all who seek to live like Him, that like Him they may be glorified. To lay hold joyfully

[1] Upon this point great weight is laid, nay, in its proper place, the greatest weight, Rom. vi. 10; and the same "once" (and for ever) is repeated in this and like relations, 1 Pet. iii. 18; Heb. ix. 26–28; cf. Heb. vi. 4, x. 10; Jude 3.

[2] To which Paul likewise in the same connections so strongly points, Gal. vi. 15; 2 Cor. v. 17; Rom. vi. 4, 6, vii. 6; Col. iii. 9; repeated Heb. viii. 13; Eph. ii. 15, iv. 22, 24.

[3] Yet such phrases as ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ Θεοῦ, Mark i. 24, or ὁ ἅγιος παῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ, Acts iii. 14, iv. 27, 30, characterize rather the primitive Christian speech than that of the Apostle Paul.

and at once of the salvation now therefore afforded by God's grace, to suffer, to die, to be buried with Christ, in order thus to die to the Old World, and with Him to rise from such death to newness of life, the life determined by God,—this only, according to the apostle, is faith in Christ; and everything to which in other respects faith in Him relates, receives thereby its true significance and its inexhaustible power.[1]

§ 328. 3. After Paul had in this way laid for all time the firm, broad foundations of faith in the glorified Christ, the edifice was completed by rapid steps to its highest summit. Everything that lay in the idea of the Logos that was applicable to Him was gradually more and more applied to Him to the very utmost possible, as the experience of Christianity in that creative time demanded it. The immediate occasion for this was the wide diffusion of Christian truth and the condition of things presented to the eye of Paul and his friends in the last days of his life. Christianity was now established in very many communities of the vast Roman Empire, and every day it made powerful and extended progress. But the controversies between Jewish Christians and heathen Christians increased; and whilst at first only high priests and scribes in Jerusalem were bent upon extirpating the new faith, now the authorities of the great world as it then was turned themselves with growing hostility against it. But if the ideas of the Logos and Christ coincide, then the Logos, existing before all creation,[2] conditioned as a creating energy the upbuilding of the whole creation and the possibility of its continuance; and even now sustains and holds it together in its infinite manifoldness and diversity, and so preserves it in its proper bounds that the divine order of the world goes forward notwithstanding all resistance of men. For in the last issue there is only one divine world, one continually vital divine

[1] Such intuitions are everywhere interwoven with Paul's speech, most consecutively and finely in Rom. vi.–viii. Most forcible, however, is the twofold saying he writes with the characters of his own hand in Gal. vi. 14.

[2] §§ 252–253, pp. 139–147.

law, and therefore one divine energy; and but one truth expressible in human words and answering to this law and energy, by which truth the whole creation from the beginning until now is conditioned and uninterruptedly upheld; and only the man who apprehends this truth, and has his life and being in it, can deem himself to have his life and being in the word and will of God. But this very word and this will, and therefore this very power of God as well, Christ has now revealed for all mankind; from which there result at this point two consequences. First, that through Christ the truth and the power are now given in which the two aspects of the whole development of religion and divine life among men hitherto, viz. Heathenism on the one hand, and Judaism, fallen now from its early purity, on the other, can henceforth secure their reconciliation, each sacrificing its error before the higher truth, and each receiving the requisite divine power of a new and perfect life. Secondly, that here a truth and a power are given before which the most potent forces among men, if they resist them, cannot ultimately stand; because this truth and power by the original abiding and unchangeable order of the world are for ever mightier than all opposition.

The Epistle to the Colossians first unfolded in eloquent presentation this intuition of Christ as the Logos. It became therefore a pattern and model for all subsequent thoughts concerning Christ, and found in due course a clear and distinct echo in the Epistle to the Ephesians. Proceeding from Paul himself, but according to all indications having its verbal setting in its main portions from the hand of Timothy, the Epistle to the Colossians makes conspicuous, as the immediate and universal service and glory of Christ, the redemption which He has instituted,—just as Paul does, indeed, in his other Epistles; and it connects with this redemption, that He has made His own disciples, here called "saints,"[1] meet to participate in the gracious blessings of the divine light, and

[1] § 304, pp. 243–250.

has delivered them from the dominion of darkness.[1] It must be acknowledged, however, that the phraseology of the Colossians has thus a new and very peculiar hue. But in this phraseology, peculiar as it is in the highest degree, the Epistle undertakes to set forth in detail, as hitherto it had been but little set forth, the divine mystery[2] involved in the heavenly and earthly Christ.

(1) The Epistle begins[3] with what is prehistorical or, in its essential nature, heavenly, in order first of all to describe Christ as the "image of the invisible God," and the "First-born of all creation." That is to say, it begins with the Logos, in the genuine idea of Him,—the most immediate and wholly correspondent revelation of the invisible God,—as He existed before all creation, and indeed as its beginning; although in this Epistle, and that which is modelled after it, the name Logos does not occur, as it does not in Paul's writings. In order more particularly to explain this, it is added,[4] "in Him" was the whole world not only created, but in Him has found also its firm continuance just as it still endures. Nothing is here more significant and full of meaning than the brief "in Him," by which is implied not only that the creation had neither been possible nor yet actually exists without Him, but also that He has been from the beginning its substance and its stay, and henceforth remains its stability and coherence. Which again is made still more clear thus: Everything was created *by* Him and *unto* Him, *i.e.* not *from* Him, because He

[1] Col. i. 12-14; with sufficient detail further set forth, and also much more artistically and tenderly yet always with earnestness and emphasis, in ii. 13-15.

[2] The right reading in Col. ii. 2 in connection with the word "mystery" is in modern times from all sorts of misconception strangely dealt with. If τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ be read, that is too general; the discourse is not here of the mystery of God in general, but of the Christian mystery in particular. No doubt in old times the reading must have suffered much from transcribers. Many left out Χριστός altogether; others wrongly altered it to Χριστοῦ; but the peculiarity of this writer, explained in *Die Sendschreiben des Apostel Paulus*, p. 483, requires certainly ὅ ἐστι Χριστός to be read here, which indeed appears in some manuscripts; and this is fully confirmed also by the corresponding passage, i. 27.

[3] Col. i. 14.

[4] Col. i. 15–17.

is not said to be God Himself, but He is said to be and He is henceforth perfectly the Mediator between God and the world, so that everything is through Him and nothing is to regard itself as created without Him, but must come back always to Him as immediate overseer and judge, and through Him to God. But it is of the greatest moment here what is to be understood under the term "whole creation;" and when it is explained that "everything in heaven and on earth," or "everything visible and invisible," is to be understood, it is pointed out that there can be no purely spiritual existences at all, no good or bad angels however great, and no single high power whatever, whether in ascending series they be "Thrones, or Dominions, or Principalities," visible powers or the invisible corresponding to them, over which the Logos does not rule, and over which the Christian through Him may not spiritually prevail, rejoicing in the good and not fearing the evil. And who does not see that in this last assurance everything of the highest moment is involved! There are in the world not merely outward or sensuous but also pre-eminently spiritual powers to which the Christian must assume the right attitude; and behind each high power of the world stands a spiritual power answering to it,[1] upon which at last everything depends; but as they all are subject to the Logos, and every one of them resisting Him must in the end fall, let the Christian cherish no perverse fear of any one of them! It is this free outlook into the whole world with all its threatening powers which Paul also shares,[2] that here for the first time through the remembrance of the Logos, who existed before the universe and for ever interpenetrates it, awakens a feeling of such perfect serenity and absolute repose.

[1] The great emphasis the writer lays upon the "Thrones, Dominions, Principalities," mentioned in Col. i. 16, is sufficiently evident from his returning to them so definitely in ii. 10, 15. Cf. how this is taken up again from our Epistle in Eph. iii. 10, vi. 12; also in 1 Pet. iii. 22; Tit. iii. 1. See also § 222, p. 73 f.

[2] Rom. viii. 38 f.; cf. 1 Cor. xv. 24.

principal theme, and it is drawn out with the utmost fulness and exactitude. There is no difficulty in ascertaining the aim of the writer. But that aim is reached only by pointing to Christ's significance as Logos, as is seen whether the likeness or unlikeness, or wide dissimilarity between the earthly and the heavenly functions, are regarded. For that Christ from the first moment of His glorification was henceforth the High Priest of His people is presupposed as self-evident, although hitherto His name as High Priest may have been little employed. Christ was in truth not merely the messenger of God to men, sent to found the new faith; He was also, as Paul taught, the actual founder by His death of reconciliation between God and mankind, which reconciliation He also maintains for His disciples by His glorification. But the establishing of peace and reconciliation between God and His people is the genuine high-priestly function.[1] The writer therefore presupposes as self-evident that Christ is the true High Priest,[2] although he now feels the necessity of thinking and speaking of Him as such in a definite way, and gives with a minute circumstantiality, such as was never before attempted, the proof that Christ is to be so conceived and is to stand as the eternal High Priest in place of the earthly one. The similarity between both is this, that a high priest must verily be a man in order as a man to feel proper sympathy for men and their errors, weakness, and sufferings; but nevertheless that He establishes reconciliation "for" the whole community or the whole nation, by His sacrifice and prayer, yet He does it not of His own will and

[1] According to *Antiquities*, 290 ff., 361–364.

[2] In Heb. ii. 17–iii. 1 it is presupposed as already granted that Christ is High Priest, although we do not know whether any one before our author so designated Him. Very remarkable is it also how in iii. 1 Christ is called the ἀπόστολος καὶ ἀρχιερεύς of the Christian confession, and thus in all brevity His earthly and His heavenly significance is embraced; and, indeed, it is somewhat similarly that Mohammed wished to have himself recognised as the ambassador of God and intercessor with Him. The right faith must certainly be capable of justification before God even to all eternity, as is shown in the following paragraphs. But Paul discourses similarly in Rom. viii. 34; and Philo also calls the Logos ἀρχιερεύς. (Cf. *History*, vii. 216.)

not self-intrusively, but in accordance with His higher vocation.[1] And in fact this deeply significant principle, most important in its consequences, had actually been maintained in Israel from the primitive times downwards, viz. that the highest and most abiding blessing of the community, its purity before God and its never-failing struggle for the preservation of it, had, as far as it could have in one man, its firm stay and crown in the one High Priest. That all this is now realized in Christ is clear. He also was fully man; He knows by the experience of His own deep sufferings how to compassionate all human suffering; He stands from human sensibilities and yearnings not afar off. More conspicuously than any other New Testament writing does our Epistle, because of its scope, lay stress upon this point of comparison.[2] Still further, He stands there also as the sole head of the community,[3] not brought thither by self-will and self-seeking, only as forerunner in victory and glorification,[4] its primary chief leader to salvation and the perfecter of it.[5] But the dissimilarity between the two is that in Christ as the heavenly Logos there is no longer a High Priest who is mortal, temporary, liable to human casualties and imperfections;[6] but the unchanging exalted High Priest in the heavenly temple and at the right hand of God, listening to the petitions of His people and presenting them as the true Mediator[7] before God. Moreover, if the fidelity with which he discharges the duties of his office as mediator is part of the merit of the high priest, coincident with this in the case of Christ is His so

[1] Heb. v. 1–4.

[2] Heb. ii. 10–18, iv. 15 f., v. 7–10, and also xii. 2 f., cf. ii. 17, iv. 16–vi. 20, vii. 26–28, viii. 1 ff., ix. 11. Accordingly the υἱός in ii. 11 is to be referred most properly to Adam, or rather, according to ii. 16, to Abraham.

[3] Heb. v. 5 f.; and it is self-evident that in place of the shortest proofs very many other proofs would be possible by reference to Old Testament passages.

[4] According to the peculiar image of Heb. vi. 20. The designation customary with Paul of first-born Son is also found, with many others (ii. 20).

[5] Heb. ii. 10, xii. 2.

[6] According to x. 1 ff.

[7] Our author is the first who applies the idea of μεσίτης to Christ, viii. 6, ix. 15, xii. 2; but the context shows that it is associated especially with the idea of the "covenant" between God and mankind. 1 Tim. ii. 5 repeats it.

much greater power and glory in that He is not as Moses merely the administrator, but the Son of the Lord of that House which includes in itself with the universe the whole of humanity: a thought derived from what is otherwise firmly established, which after the manner of this writer is introduced here without difficulty.[1]

From all this it naturally follows that the temple in Jerusalem with its high priest is now superfluous; and that this should be definitely established before the destruction of the temple is here a matter of prime importance. But a shadow now falls also upon the old sacred objects, material and perishable in their nature, closely connected with the temple; upon the bloody sacrifice and its purposeless repetition,[2] upon the vessels and form of the sanctuary[3] prescribed by the law, and upon other things;—a shadow which only the allegorical tendency so characteristic of our author is capable of transforming ingeniously into an adumbration of future all-sufficient blessings. Yet to speak here of everything which had to be set forth in its spiritual import would lead us too far.[4] Nothing, however, is more certain than that the ordinances of the sanctuary of the old true religion, albeit they were destined to fall, must be regarded as the rudimentary beginnings and historical prefigurements of the perfect things now become possible; and are to-day to be so regarded.

(2) But the great value of this Epistle is that it shows how and why Christ must be contemplated as the unchanging and only true High Priest of mankind at large, and shows it not fragmentarily and in arbitrary fashion, but in full and clear coherence with the whole proper idea of Him. Christ means originally, it is true, only the King of the true community, and as its eternal King He has everywhere His immediate and fullest significance. The high priest, however, was neither originally the king of Israel, nor ought he ever

[1] Heb. iii. 1–6, an obscure passage somewhat peculiar in expression.

[2] Heb. x. 4. [3] Heb. ix. 1 ff.

[4] And is so far unnecessary, since it may be found in the *Sendschreiben an die Hebräer*, Göttingen 1870.

to be so in point of fact, although the Maccabæan high priest usurped at last the royal dignity. If now this objection might naturally be raised against the representation of Christ as the High Priest of His own people, our author prevents it by anticipation. He unites together all the three lofty powers, each one of which had its special and high significance in the guidance and rule of the community of Israel, no one of which might displace the others, and which yet in point of fact only together in fullest harmony constitute the supreme power, and as it were the headship of the community; that is to say, the prophetic, the high-priestly, and the royal offices. Till now no one had shown that these three chief powers, which in earlier days were never really united in one man, are actually united in Christ, and so united that only their union in Him makes Him what He truly is. He is not merely the highest, but also the eternal Prophet, High Priest, and King of the new community; and indeed becomes its eternal King only in that He is at the same time its eternal Prophet and High Priest. If a more detailed statement of this is desired, it might be said: by His earthly life He established the word of God for ever among men as no earlier prophet had done, and He is thus, as prophet, at once the last, the greatest, and the most abiding; by His death He has become the everlasting supreme High Priest; by His glorification that followed His death He is the fully equipped and crowned King of the community of the perfect true religion. In this order and this significance, only such triad constitutes the whole glorified Christ. Since nevertheless our author desires to make pre-eminently conspicuous the second member of this triad, he discourses most copiously of the high-priesthood of Christ, introducing the subject with His prophetic and concluding it with His kingly office. On such lines indeed he plans the artistic structure of his whole long Epistle.[1]

[1] This is shown more in detail in the *Sendschreiben an die Hebräer*, p. 8 ff. Not to understand the exceedingly artistic arrangement of the Epistle and its close consecutiveness and firmly linked progress, is to understand nothing of it as a whole. That it certainly falls into three chief parts of increasing magni-

(3) Yet the inner connection of all that is presented to the thought concerning the earthly and heavenly Christ is derived by the writer from the idea of the Logos, as he, with his eloquent picturing and sharp Philo-like touches, explains it. He is therefore the first writer who opens his Epistle[1] with an immediate setting forth of the unique characteristics of the Logos in association with Christ, yet without at all using the name Logos. Conformably with the grand design of the treatise, he first touches upon the prophetico-historical aspect: God in this latest time has spoken to the nation, in accordance with predictions of the ancient prophets "in the Son," dwelling in all fulness in the Son, and so speaking by Him, "whom He has appointed heir of all things," that the whole world, however hostile it may now be to Him, shall nevertheless at last turn to Him and be subject to Him as the lawful Son[2] and heir; with such confidence, after the beginning of the Christian dispensation is mentioned, is the ultimate issue of it at once apprehended. From this ultimate issue the glance now turns back, secondly, away to the earliest beginning of the world, and that "God through Him also created the worlds," is thrown into prominence; but only in order to return at length, thirdly, to that central point referred to at the outset, and to say how, although He as Logos is "the effulgence of the invisible glory" and "the visible impress of the essential Being" of God, "and sustains all things by the word of His power,"[3] yet, having

tude answering to these three chief powers, is seen in that the chief conclusion of all three is essentially the same. Men should stand in awe of the all-pervading, now hidden it is true, but undoubtedly divine power of the Logos; that is the outcome of each of the three parts, as is seen by (1) ii. 1–4; (2) iv. 11–13; (3) vi. 12 ff., and especially xii. 18–29. That the discourse, however, in the third of these divisions has especially in view the kingdom of God, and Christ as its King, is clearly evident from the grand conclusion, xii. 22–29, in which the "unshakeable kingdom," ver. 28, again recurs as the chief word, notwithstanding the prominence given to the high-priesthood of Christ in the conclusion of this third main division, x. 19–21, xii. 24.

[1] Heb. i. 1–4.

[2] The image of heir is taken from Ps. ii. 7, but agrees ultimately in sense with the words of 1 Cor. xv. 24.

[3] It is remarkable how the writer purposely uses ῥῆμα rather than λόγος in

become man, He has "by Himself," *i.e.* by His life and His death, "instituted purification for sins," and so "has sat down at the right hand of the Majesty (of God) in the heavens,"[1] now only in His fullest power and honour properly efficacious, and recognised by His own as far higher than even the highest angels, as instrument and mediator of the divine revelation to men. So the representation is fully rounded, touching with short and striking strokes all aspects of the incomparably high Mediator, but starting from the prophetic side of His nature. Elsewhere, however, the writer after this splendid commencement comes back, in the further course of his discussion, only once to the Logos as such, and then in a passage where he seeks to give prominence not to the effulgence of His being and its exchange for the earthly humiliation, but to His judicial function, ever sharply penetrating all things, even as the word of a human speaker, inspired by the power of truth, searches though in a less degree heart and reins; in such case he from the first designates Him "the Word of God," and sketches on this side in a similar manner an extremely graphic image.[2]

Nevertheless, this writer holds himself aloof from the use in general of the name Logos for Christ; for such name is in his view too purely heavenly. By preference the human names of Christ recur; among them, however, in the proper connection, the shortened name, Son,[3] as the most elevated and yet the most human. At the same time, the higher Christ is raised, in the fundamental intuition of this treatise, as Logos, the more carefully does the discourse

such passages as i. 3, vi. 5, xi. 3, xii. 19, as if in order with respect to the Logos to make a distinction as to His word. In passages, to be sure, where the higher elevation of the discourse is naturally wanting, as in xiii. 7, ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ is nevertheless possible.

[1] So in the lofty style of this discourse, viii. 1, x. 12, xii. 2, somewhat barely repeats "at the right hand of God," taken from Ps. cx. 1; the simpler phrase is already in Acts ii. 33, v. 31; Rom. viii. 34; Col. iii. 1; Eph. i. 20; and also 1 Pet. iii. 22; Acts vii. 55 f. How certainly these words were at once from the beginning applied to the glorified Christ is evident.

[2] Heb. iv. 12.

[3] In the higher style of discourse quite briefly υἱός, i. 1, vii. 28.

guard itself against placing Him on the same level with God.[1]

It must be confessed, however, that in one respect this treatise, the work of a younger contemporary of the apostle, stands in the New Testament quite alone. The art of allegory, which had just reached a high development, and was exercising its fascination anew over many minds, has cast a shadow upon parts of the discussion, so that for the chief fundamental truths copiously detailed proofs of a somewhat artificial kind are given. Nevertheless, clear simple thoughts expressed in language readily understood are not wanting. Above all, prominence is given as never before to the important truth, that if the perfect type of everything historically possible in humanity appears but once to remain in it henceforth for ever, then in the matter of the true religion this has happened indisputably with Christ, and it is folly to expect something yet more perfect.[2]

§ 330. 5. Yet such conclusion is not fully reached until John's writings are added. It is John's great distinction, in contrast with the younger writer, to return once more, in setting forth the relation of the Logos to Christ, to the essential simplicity of Christ's own mode of teaching. He does this with respect to the three aspects of this relation under which it may be considered.

[1] This noteworthy point is certainly the inference to be drawn from ii. 9 f., iii. 4; cf. 1 Cor. xv. 27, where the same observation holds good. The reading χωρίς in Heb. ii. 9 is the more likely to be the correct reading, since our writer loves this χωρίς unusually, and never uses ἐκτός. To this belongs also the way of designating God peculiar to this writer, as Him, "on account of whom and through whom all things," *i.e.* the world, exists; as the house is built on account of the owner, and at the same time by him, cf. iii. 4; yet the phrase in Greek is more pointed than in German: δι' ὃν καὶ δι' οὗ. It is as if the speaker had brought to its right limit and bound what is said in i. 2, and wished to use more freely such phrases, that according to § 328. 1, p. 296, had become common. [Far better is the explanation that the writer, according to the subsequently formulated doctrine of the Church, does not confound the persons of God and the Logos-Christ, and acknowledges what is termed the official subordination of the Son.]

[2] Heb. v. 13–vi. 8, ix. 24 ff., xii. 25–29, xiii. 8. The same truth, however, had already been stated with distinctness in 1 Pet. iii. 18.

(1) He deals, in the first place, with the historical side of the relation, where three different sections of all conceivable history, hitherto lying far remote, at once open to view. If the whole of what may be said from the historical side must arise in these three stages, the more wonderful is the simplicity and clearness with which in luminous brevity all the chief points in this highest of conceivable histories are handled. (*a*) There is, first, the pre-mundane history, which cannot well be described without reference to the creation of the world by the Logos as the event which forms the conclusion of it. John, however, could the more readily sketch this history in sublime brevity with a few strokes weighted with meaning,[1] as it was already his habit to discourse thus briefly of the Logos whom all the earlier Christian writers had originally designated the Logos of God.[2] The conception as to the mode of the existence of the Logos at that period is expressed in sublime brevity, yet with plainness, when it is said, "He was God," that is to say, He was not the universe, nor a created being, nor an angel, but in His essence God, although in His existence and working separated from God; which in Greek could with such brevity be more easily said than in German without occasioning a misunderstanding.[3]

Then follows (*b*) the whole time from the creation of the existing world and man to the appearing of the earthly Christ. The view had long been firmly established that the Logos during this period was not purely inactive, and as it were withdrawn into the being of God, but continuously moved in the world, and manifested Himself to men from the irresistible impulse not to leave without a confident feeling

[1] In John i. 1–3; cf. how in xvii. 5, 24, the same thought is expressed; but it is given still more briefly by ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, 1 John i. 1, ii. 13 f., iii. 8. Very appropriately in John i. 1 is the mention of chaos left out, and the remotest past conceivable represented by "In the beginning," taken from Gen. i. 1.

[2] §§ 324, 329, pp. 282 ff., 299–306.

[3] Because Θεός is here purposely distinguished from ὁ Θεός. Everything of further interest is explained in the *Johanneischen Schriften*, i. pp. 112–118.

of His nearness and help those to whom He stood so near by the creation itself. The Mediator of the world becomes by direct consequence also the Mediator of divine revelation to the world, the quickener and imparter of the spiritual gifts of God, which are the highest and most abiding. Thus only did the long series of effulgent appearings of God and of His highest angels, as well as the whole history of revelation in the New Testament, appear sufficiently intelligible and coherent. There is indeed but one truth of God, one manifest and active Word of God to men, in all the thousands of years of human history before Christ.[1] The Logos, in this acceptation, was already properly recognised before Christ.[2] As soon therefore as Christians were more familiar with the idea of the Logos, and looked back to the passages of the Old Testament in which such glorious manifestations of the true God and beginnings of all higher human life were described, they must have rejoiced to behold there the activity of the same Logos whom now indeed they knew with a fulness and intimacy incomparably greater. With infinite delight Paul follows such traces of Christ before Christ;[3] but it is John who touches with simple and inimitable beauty upon the profoundest and most exhaustive as well as tenderest and most attractive aspects of this theme.[4]

Yet what is the ecstasy with which John looks back into the whole past, compared with that which (*c*) the experience of his own time awakens. He had stood with so many others in the closest intercourse with Him in whom the Logos, fulfilling at last the yearning desire of all the best of mankind, had become "flesh," *i.e.* veritable man like the rest of us. With the expression of joy in this privilege he closes the lofty introduction to his Gospel,[5] and commences his larger

[1] §§ 8–50; *Revelation; its Nature and Record*, pp. 1–152.
[2] § 252, pp. 139–145. [3] 1 Cor. x. 1–6.
[4] John i. 4-13, for that this is the true meaning of the words is shown in the *Johan. Schriften*, i. pp. 118-126.
[5] John i. 14–18.

Epistle.[1] But every line he writes is full of the calm feeling of this ecstasy, and the unparalleled confidence and certainty it gave to his spirit; and his whole Gospel, notwithstanding all that self-collected repose which befits the narrator, and all the exactness of its reminiscence and delineation, is nevertheless but one involuntary song of praise to the incomparable Christ. After the words of the prelude which shine forth as from a very transfiguration, come the last words which the glorified One addressed to His disciples, and as their simple sublime conclusion the prayer to the Father in which the apostle seeks to express, as they still in his old age abode with him, the vivid reminiscences and impressions of that time when the image of what the Logos was, though now in the limits of the earthly life, grew in all nearness into fuller vision, and reached once more its whole transcendent grandeur.[2] Never has human speech in the survey of all that belongs to humanity and its right relation to the Divine been able to produce anything at once sublimer, truer, and more perpetually inspiring than the words of John.[3]

(2) Looking now from the purely historical side to its corresponding counterpart, viz. the permanent relation to the Logos of the inner forces of the spiritual progress of the life of man, there is no Biblical writer who presents it with so much insight and clearness, and, notwithstanding his striking brevity, with such exhaustive completeness as John. The coming of Christ had indeed powerfully and conspicuously disclosed it to the understanding of all susceptible minds, as it had never been disclosed before; and John in the serene repose of a long life, gazing intently upon the glorified One, who while on earth had stood in closest relationship to him,

[1] 1 John i. 1–3.

[2] How closely John xvii. coincides with i. 1–3 is shown above, p. 307, in a special similarity.

[3] Put side by side with these, the *Bhagavad-Gîtâ*, which may most of all admit of such comparison, or even Plato's *Phædo;* however much that is noble and eternally true such works contain, what are they beside the all-embracing, inexhaustible, yet simple truth of these passages of the Bible!

had so deeply and surely received His whole image upon his spirit, that he could now furnish its most luminous expression.

Now the idea of the Logos, as we have seen,[1] had assumed its definite form from the fullest commingling of the plastic power of creative energy with the power of revelation. It is self-evident, therefore, that when with the creation of man the present world exists, the Logos from that moment is henceforth the spring and source of new life in man,[2] the new life which through the knowledge of the true God and of the eternal forces and laws of the moral order of the world is quickened, and seeks to bear its own fruit. But this higher life, uplifting men towards God, becomes forthwith "the light of men," leading them aright in everything, and preserving them from error and transgression. Life, therefore, the life which among men alone deserves the name,[3] and which implies participation in the divine life; and light, in the sense of divine light, are the two powers that coming from above are through the Logos made possible to men.[4] But of the two, life in this sense is yet with respect to the Logos the most immediate and comprehensive.[5] On the contrary, all false life and light, however powerful among men, can never come from the Logos of God, and through Him from God Himself, and can never lead to Him; so that the light and life here meant may at once be more definitely termed "the true" light[6] and life. But true life once awakened in man, and true light once kindled, the Logos becomes Himself the "way" upon which in thought and

[1] § 252, p. 139.

[2] § 13 ff. *Revelation; its Nature and Record*, pp. 7–29.

[3] § 265, p. 183 ff.

[4] John i. 4, xvii. 3; but the reason why in the second of these passages "eternal life" occurs in place of "life" in general, is explained above. In reality the same principle is involved in 1 John i. 1–7.

[5] This is seen more especially from the bold designation, "The Logos of Life," 1 John i. 1 f.; cf. § 323, p. 281, note 3. But in Heb. iv. 12 also the idea of the "Living Word" occurs as the first of all the attributes of the Logos.

[6] As is done in 1 John i. 9 in a passage which is somewhat redundant.

action he may make progress infinitely, progress to the "truth," as the certain fruit of the light, so that at every moment he may be assured that he thinks and acts in the truth; and progress to "the life," which, however, is now at the same time "eternal life," and so far as he before lay as it were in spiritual death, "the resurrection and the life."[1] Such is the course and circle in which the Logos works, and in which all move who allow themselves to be apprehended and led by Him. By virtue of the divine life He gives to man the possibility of individual participation in eternal life.[2]

If this holds good in general of the significance and activity of the Logos in humanity, and therefore even in the pre-Christian period,[3] the wider question, that is especially relevant here, arises, viz. how the period since Christ's appearing and work stands to the earlier time with respect to the great universal powers of the spiritual life of man. To this question John gives the right answer: exactly as complete and full experience stands to that which is incomplete and imperfect, as the full age of mankind to the age of its youth, as realization to desire. Since He, who can say of Himself that He is the way, the truth, and the life, has appeared as a man like other men, but on behalf of all, the whole of humanity is raised through Him to a higher stage, because the ideal and the inspiration of the perfect divinely-human life which came into humanity through Him cannot again be lost;[4] but as it at once drew to itself those nearest to Him, so to the end it can draw and is to draw "all men to Himself." John presents all this with a profoundness, brevity, and truth, and with a simple power of conviction, such as no other New

[1] John xiv. 6, xi. 25.

[2] Cf. § 48. *Revelation; its Nature and Record*, pp. 140–148.

[3] For even then He gave such as believed in Him power to become the "children of God," as the Old Testament relates, and here is explained in John's characteristic language with much appropriateness, John i. 12, 13.

[4] [Cf. "The most valuable part of the effect on character which Christianity has produced, by holding up in a Divine Person a standard of excellence and a model for imitation, . . . *can never again be lost.*"—J. S. Mill, *Essays*, p. 253.]

Testament writer commands. But just on this account Christ exclaims, according to John, towards the end of His activity, and in conflict with the multitude of His foes who were hardening themselves more and more in their sin, "I am the light of the world;" [1] but only at the end of His course, "I am the way, the truth, and the life," [2] and also not till close upon that end, "I am the resurrection and the life." [3]

(3) But the Logos-Christ who has thus for all humanity passed so resplendently through the sphere of the actual, becomes to living men, since His glorification on high, quite other than the simple Logos of the previous time, and other even than He was in His earthly appearing. This also John presents in the most complete manner, and just as clearly as simply in His larger Epistle. "I have overcome the world," exclaimed Christ, according to John,[4] to His disciples at the close of His last discourse, not as one who was about to rest upon His victory, but as one who feels beforehand that in the midst of death He shall conquer it wholly otherwise; that is to say, as one who is already by anticipation glorified, and who knows that the world ever afterwards will be in closest effective relation with Him, and He with it. And we may at once add, in the sense of the idea of the Logos, if already the pure Logos before Christ operated so powerfully upon the world, and men vainly strove to remain indifferent to Him, with what incomparably greater power will the Logos-Christ exercise influence upon it in order to lead it forward towards its ultimate divine destiny! Exposed on behalf of the world to the violence of error and sin, as He brought about the only true purification and reconciliation which is henceforth indispensable for the whole world, so for all those who nevertheless sin again but turn in full repentance to Him, He is the only true advocate with God.[5] But all who will not awake at His clear abiding call to cleansing

[1] John viii. 12.
[2] John xiv. 6.
[3] John xi. 25.
[4] John xvi. 33.
[5] According to the expression peculiar to this apostle, of which more below. 1 John ii. 1.

and true life are thereby condemned for time and eternity.[1] So simple are the apostle's intuitions of this subject; whilst at the same time he so closes this whole province of conceptions concerning Christ that we ought always to have been content to rest in the pure consummation, and abide by the transparent clearness of his most luminous words.

§ 331. Thus, then, was accomplished in the apostolic age, and by stages attested with sufficient distinctness in the New Testament, the blending of the ideas of the Logos-Christ,—prehistorical, historical, and such as cover the whole conceivable future;—and accomplished, as it were, within limits drawn between heaven and earth, according to the great chief contents of those ideas. For two different circles of the general contemplation of the whole material here relevant were presented to view, intersected by a further third circle; and it is of importance carefully to consider in this place these three circles in their diversity in order rightly to perceive how the special material belonging to each could nevertheless be mutually attracted and commingled.

1. Only the highest conceptions of the eternal and divine significance of Christ, uplifted above all the changes of time, could have kept alive and raised to its full altitude faith in Him in the very earliest Christian days without the visible Christ. This is involved in the very nature of the case itself,[2] and it is fully confirmed by all historical traces. Such transcendent apprehension of the more than earthly significance of Christ was still very simple in that earliest period, firmly retaining the great chief points, but not yet having passed through the prescribed stages of its development. But such as it was, it was stedfastly held and could not readily be shaken. But side by side with it, the need and the longing made themselves felt even then to possess as complete and certain a knowledge as possible of the whole earthly life and work of Christ. That this circle of the earthly appearing of Christ was traced so early, so persever-

[1] John v. 21 ff.

[2] Cf. § 323, pp. 278–282.

ingly and fully that it perfectly sufficed for its aim, is of the highest moment, and carries with it an abiding use and service whose place nothing else can fill. But it is not to be overlooked, that whilst assiduous investigation traced out carefully this whole circle of hundreds of reminiscences of earthly events, it delighted to hold fast with special sympathy certain of them in which it was thought the tones and traces of the working of the heavenly power of the Logos could be distinctly perceived; as if to the ardent longing of that time it afforded the highest joy to possess some at least of the clearest indications of the presence and play of the higher powers in this earthly history. Such narratives or mere outlines of them are still specially conspicuous above the rest. They are few in number, but they have naturally something exceptional about them, and they belong to the oldest stock of reminiscences. To these must be referred the narrative of the short transient moments of the Transfiguration in the midst of the course of earthly events, the story of the feeding of the multitude, and some others. The purely earthly as it elsewhere recurs in human history does not here suffice, the purely divine will nevertheless break through; this is the ineradicable feeling which from first to last strongly shows itself. But that side by side with it these earthly sensuous materials of reminiscence were still so predominantly and absolutely retained, is here most remarkable, and distinctly indicates the preservation and vigorous exercise of the healthy historical sense.

§ 332. 2. Meanwhile the history of Christ was in general too extraordinary, and for all whom faith influenced too purely elevated, not to induce attempts to make prominent by itself the divine element it contained. Brief as it was, it had brought to the light with its force of productive energy a number of lofty divine truths in luminous splendour, and had drawn them forth out of the soil which from ancient times had been fruitful as no other had been in this respect. Struggling for clear presentation, they found it most readily

when they could be attached to such palpable incidents of earthly history as might serve for their immediate support. Nay more, by closely knitting together many such truths, single parts of this history might have a more extended coherence, or indeed might be formed into one whole. Behind every earthly history there stands an invisible higher history which makes it possible; and what could the clear and open vision now see standing behind this! The presentation of such a history was made either in the simplest language as with the few bold strokes of a wall-picture,[1] or in the rich adornment of artistic discourse easily overflowing into poetry.[2] For an abundance of new Christian songs soon streamed forth from the wonderfully elevated mood and spirit of the time.[3]

Some portions of such higher or purely divine history of Christ we possess in our present first three Gospels, preserved partly in mere fragments interpolated in the narrative,[4] partly in fuller and more independent paragraphs.[5] Of one portion, however, which had become widely diffused at an early date, and which must have left behind a deep impression on account of its peculiar character, we find in the New Testament only casual, brief, and incidental traces, whilst a similar trace is preserved in the ancient summary of a Christian confession of faith.[6] This is the account of Christ's descent into the Underworld. From the references to it in the New Testament,[7] we cannot indeed restore the original

[1] Such passages as Matt. i. 18–ii. 22, iv. 1–11, with other fragments. Cf. *Die drei ersten Evangelien*, i. pp. 79–81.

[2] As Luke i. 5–ii. 40.

[3] Cf. the proofs in the *History*, viii. 357. Fragments of these oldest Christian songs come now more and more to light; for one of them see note on p. 287.

[4] As many in the present Gospel of Matthew; cf. *Die drei ersten Evangelien*, i. p. 80 f.

[5] As Matt. iv. 1–11.

[6] That the main elements of the so-called Apostles' Creed are very ancient cannot be disputed.

[7] 1 Pet. iii. 18–22, iv. 7; Eph. iv. 9 f.; cf. *Die Sieben Sendschreiben*, pp. 44–53, 69 f., 190 f.; also the recently published "Acts of Thomas," from the Syriac, by W. Wright, 180 note, 283, 12.

narrative word for word, but we can certainly discover the thoughts and truths out of which it was fashioned. Even Christ—which scarcely seems credible—must suffer actual death. He was fully man, and so He was not spared the destiny of all men, viz. descent into the dark Underworld. But as with Him the spirit, the spirit of the Logos Himself, if we may so speak, was altogether untouched by earthly defect and corruption, this His purely divine nature never showed itself more conspicuously than now when His mortal part, "the flesh," being killed, in a moment He lived again anew "in the spirit;" for even there, in the Underworld, He could work where hitherto He could never have so worked; and He could work the more purely and actively in the Underworld as spirit in the midst of the numberless spirits of the Dead who had gathered there ever since the creation of man. But what was He to speak of and to accomplish in this realm of Death? At the moment of His own death the divine possibility of a reconciliation for the whole of mankind had come in that death, and through the divine grace a remission of all the sins committed in the earlier time of ignorance of the true Redeemer had at that moment begun its work; but only to the repentant is this grace of avail. Who knew and felt all this, however, in its whole significance earlier than Christ Himself knew and felt it? Therefore, having gone down into the Underworld, as Dead and yet Living, He published the same gospel to the dead He had published to the living; continuing in Hades also His vocation, but with wholly new power, that the dead might have opportunity to come to repentance before the last judgment. Thus the whole universe in its three great divisions, heaven, earth, and the Underworld, is comprehended in the range and power of the truth and redemption of Christ. Even upon the judgments of the whole pre-Christian world that truth and redemption react in the way of mitigation, so that those who in the youth of the human race, when Christ in His fulness had not yet

shone forth, fell readily into sin, might not lack the privilege of rejoicing in the gospel, and should not at last be more harshly judged than they deserved. Thus in the self-same moment when the redemption accomplished upon earth thrilled through the world above and below, and filled it with light,[1] the Underworld also shares in this benefit. Such higher thoughts and truths naturally sought illustrative embodiment; and the grand magnificent picture was completed with the representation, on the one hand, of His submitting the joyful message to the worst sinners of the early world, the bad spirits chained in Hades from the time of Noah, and as is self-evident to those also who were misled by them; and on the other, of His leading up in triumphal procession to heaven those who were converted by Him, and who on the great day of His victorious resurrection and ascension, as splendid captives, were the spoil of conquest well-pleasing to God.[2]

With such grand strokes enrapturing the imagination must this narrative have been completed; and a later gospel story preserved outside the New Testament tends in part to sustain this conclusion.[3] And who can fail to see the great significance of the "descent into Hell" in such connection?

§ 333. In the midst of these two circles a third appears, finding its material from another source, and serving to light up and enliven the subject still more; that is the

[1] For manifestly such incidents as Matt. xxvii. 51–53 are quite fitting and appropriate in this connection.

[2] The descent and ascent spoken of in Eph. iv. 8–10 are intelligible only in some such connection. Isolated and robbed of their clear and congruous setting, such descent and ascent are in the highest degree obscure; only as such writings actually appeared does their perfectly obvious connection make them full of significance and meaning to us.

[3] The so-called "Gospel of Nicodemus;" cf. *Die drei ersten Evangelien*, i. p. 156. As there explained (p. 81), the original narrative with its creative material was found in the manuscript used by the last editor of Matthew's Gospel. If it is preferred not to bring forward opinions and suppositions concerning the descent into Hades that are quite unfounded, yet offence may be taken where there is no occasion for it. Indeed, he who recognises no higher truths takes offence everywhere.

circle of Old Testament references. Always rich and luminous with its own glory and truth, if ever the Old Testament could obtain its supreme value and just estimation, the time for this had now come. For the highest and noblest aims, to which the hope of the Old Testament and the longing of the most loyal members of the old community had more and more intently been directed, were now realized in a way surpassing all hope itself, so far as they could be realized at the central point of human history; while at the same time all that yet remained to be accomplished of sacred and early expectation had found its surest pledge and promise. It is true that with the purely spiritual and spiritually marked and definite consummation Christ had brought, the marked and definite separation was also made between the indestructibly eternal substance and the merely historical and historically transient elements of the Old Testament, as well in relation to the letter of the Old Testament as Holy Scripture as in relation to the ordinances and usages that had arisen in the ancient community,—a separation which already Christ Himself had initiated with sure eye and firm hand, and as creatively as everything else is with Him, and which now in the apostolic age advanced with increased rapidity. But it was rightly felt that the value of the Old Testament itself as the preliminary school of all perfect true religion, without which Christianity itself could not have come, does not on this account suffer in the least, if only it be well employed. But what better use could be made of it provisionally than, with an eye newly opened to this end, to compare it with that which Christ had now brought into the world? And how did the Christian heart tremble with divine joy when in the midst of the stern conflict with the Jews and the whole world, it found in the compass of the old sacred book words which rang as the prelude of what had now been accomplished, and was yet to be accomplished, or as presentiments of the Christian spirit! No doubt similarity of incident rather

than strict historical interpretation was chiefly regarded, although where historical interpretation bearing upon the circumstances of the time was indispensable, it was not neglected. Moreover, the fascination of allegory was felt again with increasing force. But we cannot be surprised at these tendencies. In point of fact, however, there was rapidly formed, under the influence of newly-kindled zeal, a new circle of thoughts and intuitions which, originating in Holy Scripture, and of kindred nature with the two circles previously mentioned, in large measure coincided with both, but more particularly with the second.

Many passages [1] of the Old Testament were unquestionably taken up in the powerful impulse of this new movement owing to the precedent of Christ Himself. Others, on the contrary, came into the light of this new life evidently much later, but yet early enough to be referred to in the New Testament. Thus Isaiah's prophecy of the Virgin had been for a long time but little considered, when it was brought into closer connection with the view that had long prevailed [2] of the relation of the Holy Spirit to Christ. That from the moment of His baptism the Holy Spirit descended upon Him, and subsequently ceased not to direct Him, but abode upon Him, is the simplest and therefore the earliest intuition. It is found in the oldest gospel writing,[3] and is repeated without exception in all that followed. That His Spirit in this sense also did not in death itself even momentarily relinquish the unique divine employment that had occupied His earthly life is a further intuition, which in the higher history of Christ [4] found its significant place without passing over into our four Gospels. But if His Spirit has thus a self-dependent power that reaches beyond bodily death, as though the Holy Spirit Himself were always as near to Him as possible, where is the

[1] The most obvious example of this is the passage in the Book of Isa. liii., as further explained above, § 326, p. 289 ff.

[2] § 332, p. 316.

[3] According to the *Drei ersten Evangelien*, i. pp. 59 ff., 190 ff.

[4] § 332, p. 315 f.

beginning of this peculiar and essential characteristic of His Spirit to be placed? Let it be granted that from the day of His baptism and of the commencement of His public work till His death, His Spirit displayed the mightiest activity the Holy Ghost Himself ever lends to living man, yet had He not from the first beginning of His earthly life been fashioned and prepared for it, He could not have advanced from that day forward, in all public activity, to the extreme altitude He attained. This is true; and since towards the end of the apostolic age the earthly element of this unique life-history yielded more and more where it could to the divine, it was only one step further when, in view of that Messianic passage concerning the Virgin, this Spirit from the first moment of the possibility of its union with an earthly body was derived from the Holy Ghost itself. This Old Testament passage thus became a living member of this circle; and this circle, if it is true that where everything is pure and holy the act of conception also may participate therein,[1] takes its place among those of the higher and purely divine history of Christ. For this narrative is not found till near the close of the period in which gospel history was written,[2] and did not arise even then till the time when Mary herself had long been reckoned among the glorified spirits.[3] But it is the utmost folly to mingle with such thoughts and narratives what is gross and sensuous, and to accommodate them to it.

But there were manifestly many such Old Testament passages which, without becoming intimately connected with the first two circles, were, in the apostolic age, drawn into the circle of Messianic allusion, or application to Christ; and although they do not happen to appear in the New Testament books, they appear in the oldest Christian literature outside the New Testament.[4] With respect to the question at issue, this however is of little moment.

[1] In Luke's narrative everything returns to an *ἅγιον*, and closes with it. Luke i. 35.

[2] Matt. i. 18–25; Luke i. 26–35. [3] *History*, vii. 128.

[4] The prophecy of Jacob, Gen. xlix. 8–12, which is commonly spoken of as

§ 334. For everything affecting the subject in hand ultimately resolves itself into the one question, whether the faith of man has to be directed to Christ, and has to be directed to Him just in the way in which, from all that has been said, the New Testament demands. Here, however, in the outset it is to be considered that faith of such a kind in the head of a community is in fact demanded everywhere else. Faith, as the bond by which alone fellowship between the head and members can permanently subsist, is due to the word of every governing power and of every earthly king; although such faith is limited in many ways, both in substance and in range, by the nature of all merely human power. If, however, the question at issue relates to words that are valid without limit and without end for the maintenance of a purely spiritual fellowship, and especially to the duties and functions of a fellowship founded by revelation, it is self-evident that such faith is all the more required towards the historical founder of it. It was so with respect to Moses. With the utmost conscientiousness, indeed, Moses wished to direct the hearts and minds of all members of the ancient community to the majesty of the true God alone, and in point of fact himself as it were vanished with his own personality before Him even during the course of their ancient history.[1] Yet there arose[2] gradually a faith in him as mediator between God and the community, which at length among the Samaritans reached its full height.[3] Faith in

the prophecy concerning Shiloh, from the words of ver. 10, specially belongs to this class. Cf. *Jahrbb.* ii. pp. 49 ff. In this passage, it may further be remarked, the second member of ver. 9 is best regarded as a question of surprise, which occurs suddenly to him who looks into the development of the future: "By spoil, my son, art thou become full grown" (how has this form suddenly changed! but it is so!). *Arabs. Fâk.* p. 119. 2, offers a complete parallel to ver. 10. That this prophecy concerning Judah was in the apostolic age referred to the Messiah and the Messianic times admits of no doubt; it is found so expounded in the earliest Church Fathers. The designation, "the Lion of the tribe of Judah," Rev. v. 5, seems to be taken from this passage, Gen. xlix. 9 f., 28; although other passages of the Old Testament might remotely lead to it. Cf. *History*, ii. 283.

[1] Cf. *History*, ii. 31–34.

[2] § 301, p. 326.

[3] As everything we know of the ancient and modern Samaritans proves.

Buddha soon displaced all reverence for the gods, and increased in strength until he himself was regarded as the sole supreme Deity. Confucius overturned all true faith in gods and in God among the Chinese; and just for this reason he is now by his learned disciples, who administer a vast empire of the world, daily reverenced as a kind of divine being. And even to Mohammed, who aimed to restore the bare unity of God, there clung very early a more than human reverence, together with an obstinate and unconditional faith which has maintained itself among men for nearly a millennium and a half. So necessary is faith as the firm cement of every fellowship which regards itself as possessing eternal truths and ordinances, and desires to live in conformity with them; although with every type of faith the question at last comes back to the special contents and basis of it.

But faith in Christ, however, as is above explained, and as this whole work teaches, does not depend simply upon His words, upon His whole conduct of unique purity and holiness, nor upon powers of the Spirit which may flow from Him upon His disciples. It depends also upon this, viz. that every endeavour and aspiration of entire antiquity for the possession of the perfect true religion has found in Him its close and crown; and further, that everything still to be sought and attained by spiritual forces and faculties, even to the realization of the ultimate aim of all human history, must proceed from Him. He Himself indicates this,[1] and the apostles also declare it. If therefore faith must go out towards Him as the head of the community He founded, so also in this whole realm there can be no faith at once so pure and sacred, so comprehensive and perpetually enduring, and so potent and inexhaustible as faith in Him. Christ's whole significance in its twofold bearing, as already described,[2] may be gathered up here into one truth and one effective principle, and demands a belief in Him purer, higher by far,

[1] § 301, pp. 227–8. [2] § 321, pp. 271–2.

than the belief demanded in any other founder of a faith among men, and which indeed is without parallel. There are passages in the Bible which point clearly enough to this broader significance of faith in Him, and the more they occur altogether incidentally the more striking they are.[1]

Now it is no doubt true, and shown in full detail above, that the peculiar manner in which the very Highest that lived in Christ and will on behalf of humanity live in Him for ever was conceived, was conditioned by the idea of the Logos, and through such idea ultimately found also its most luminous expression in the Bible; whilst according to all that has been established above, it is just as undeniable that this idea, although far older and of other origin than a recent widely-spread error admits, arose only in the course of the second half of the whole history of the people of the Biblical revelation. But it was no accident that just this idea received its high significance in the course of the spiritual life of this nation, and became the receptacle for a fulness of the most enduring and highest truths, nay, the support and stay about which all the highest and sublimest truths touching the glorified Christ firmly collected; this likewise is shown above. And it was not this idea now become sacred that, as a mere name, moved and animated Christ. As He came to realize its contents and to follow out its aim, He had more in view than this; and He was what He was not by any charm or virtue in this name or idea. Far rather, as it had been a receptacle for the highest energy of desire and expectation as to the coming of Christ, so when He came, His peculiar appearing and work gave it a splendour and a

[1] As to the essential elements of Christ's significance, such expressions as 1 Cor. i. 30 are relevant; as to the perpetuity of it, Heb. xiii. 8. In the first passage the apostle starts from the view that all ordinary wisdom as then taught in the Greek schools was nothing without divine wisdom; he then turns to the sphere of morals, because wisdom does not cover all the needs of life, and finally looks towards the ultimate future. Christ, he says, has become to us (1) "wisdom from God;" (2) "righteousness" as well as "sanctification;" and (3) "redemption" from the bonds of this body in eternal blessedness. The whole higher life of man in its three chief directions and aims is thus compassed.

real significance which it never had before. Nor would any other idea have been more fitting and more capable of receiving and appropriating the very Highest. Faith, however, as in all such cases, so also in this supreme case, is bound by that which is historical, as the firm support and distinct manifestation of the eternally true thus entering into history, but it is not to allow itself to be misled by mere historical splendour and glare so as to miss the Eternal Truth itself that is hidden therein.

XVII. THE POWER OF THE HOLY SPIRIT.

§ 335. How faith in Christ must stand in its relation to faith in God is a special question which is to be discussed below, but that without such faith in God it is of no force is self-evident. Still further, as we take into consideration faith in its relation to the Holy Spirit, we at once see that faith in Christ without this also is imperfect. For however necessary for man, from every point of view and in every situation of life, faith in the Messiah or Christ who has now actually appeared, may be, yet it would involve in two directions an unsupplied want if satisfaction were sought in it alone, or even in connection with faith in God. For so long as Christ worked in the earthly life among men, nigh at hand in His full immediate efficacy to those who were willing to believe in Him, and clearly manifest to them on all sides, so long He stood before men as the inexhaustible source of all knowledge of God and all life in Him, and accessible according to His will to all who sought to derive from Him the better part of their own life. John in his writings[1] everywhere calls this to mind in the quiet but jubilant gladness of his soul, and even makes it prominent with special

[1] The Gospel and the Epistles, not the Apocalypse, which even in this matter shows itself the work of a wholly different John.

fervour in some narratives of his Gospel.[1] But how utterly bereft and without resource did the Twelve feel themselves as soon as Christ was snatched away from them for ever! This also no one depicts as John does, out of such deep personal knowledge.[2] How much more may this want have been felt, and felt injuriously, by those who succeeded the apostles, to whom all direct intercourse with the immediate work and life of the Saviour was denied! If it should be said that the immortal words He bequeathed to men might supply this first want, yet new complications in the progressive life of mankind continually lead to a second; for however much these words may contain of the truths of eternal life, it is not to be expected that they will show precisely how to act in every new perplexity of life or of the age in which we live. In the fluctuating course of things and the occurrence of new complications, new decisions have to be formed; but Christ does not stand near in the flesh to render help, nor do His words with their supreme truth when retained in the memory afford such help, since every such complication has each in its own case its own peculiar difficulty.

But just for this reason may we at once fully mark what the Holy Spirit is in His whole significance and power. As to His eternal nature, and His peculiar way of manifesting Himself in the development of the true religion, and as to His commencing such manifestation with conspicuous and commanding energy in the course of the history of the Old Covenant, all this has already been explained.[3] The Holy Spirit was known and felt in the ancient community as the power standing between God and man which alone could fill man with holy thoughts, aspirations, and impulses, and through which, rather than by any false spirit, true quickening could

[1] Especially John i. 35–ii. 12, iv. 1–38, xiii. 23 f.

[2] What is indicated in John xiii. 33, xiv. 18, cf. xvi. 32, is in the mind of the narrator so significant, and opens the way so plainly for the comprehension of the purpose and mission of the Holy Spirit, that in this connection too much attention cannot be paid to it.

[3] §§ 80–85; *Revelation; its Nature and Record*, pp. 270–299; also § 163.

come. Nevertheless, it is only since Christ has worked in the world that this power has reached its greatest altitude and most triumphant activity. For so far as the Holy Spirit has His definite function apparent only through His opposition to what is unholy as it arises historically among men, so far He received from all primitive times a significance for humanity as soon as the spirit of man, in opposition to all that is sinful and unholy, desired to coincide with the Spirit of the holy God, and work only in it. In this way there came into existence among men words and works which, proceeding from the Holy Spirit, tend to incite and inspire men to that which is like them; and where this tendency became persistently and freely followed, *i.e.* in the community of the true religion (in Israel), there sprang forth a clear consciousness of what the Holy Spirit is, and a desire to be led and strengthened by Him more and more; — a desire which burned most intensely where the individual or the community most profoundly realized the danger of losing again all divine salvation. But spirit in itself is essentially a force that animates and impels; and so spirit that is holy may have a richer or scantier, a more complete or a less complete, scope and range. On this account in the old community, side by side with the Spirit as the power standing between God and man, the Word, *i.e.* the divine thought clearly revealing itself, is more and more distinctly regarded as a similar high power;[1] and so until Christ came, the Logos stands side by side with the Pneuma. But after the Logos has in Christ become human, so far as He could become human, the whole fulness of divine words and truths streamed into humanity with the living impulse of the Spirit of Christ, and the Spirit which in superabundant measure now proceeded from Him upon His disciples and upon all Christians, had an elevation and wealth of divine clear thoughts associated with it, never met with before. Wherefore we see the Holy Spirit work now as a power, and gain a significance and authority for the entire

[1] §§ 252, 322 ff., pp. 139–145, 273–285.

community in a way not previously known. But at the same time there was not assigned to the Spirit, in the series and succession of the highest divine powers, the right place, for this indeed at an earlier period could not so definitely and firmly be assigned. It is evident that the Holy Spirit henceforth takes the position next to Christ.

But nevertheless, according to some passages of the Bible, this might appear somewhat doubtful. For when at Nazareth, for the first time, Christ publicly stepped forth as the Messiah, He began[1] with the words of the ancient prophet, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me," as if He felt Himself under the sway of the Holy Spirit, precisely as one of the prophets of the Old Testament. With this declaration agrees also the oldest narrative representing the Holy Spirit descending upon Him in baptism; and still further with what is said above.[2] For we have seen that, in order to express historically everything conceivable with respect to Christ, the Spirit is characterized as the divine power which forthwith from the first possibility of His earthly appearing formed and fashioned Him, so that subsequently such power alone predominated in Him and made His whole life among men as it were that of the Holy Spirit itself, so far as this was possible in the limits of a human body.[3] Indeed, it is thus sufficiently made conspicuous how little the historical Christ was on this account merely like the old prophets. For the narrative of the descent of the Holy Spirit upon Jesus in baptism makes expressly prominent that from henceforth the Holy Spirit "abode" upon Him, constantly, in uniform energy, peacefully and surely leading Him, and never again leaving Him. If Jeremiah so far revealed the deepest and most overwhelming

[1] Luke iv. 18. [2] § 333, p. 319 f.

[3] If Matt. i. 20 and Luke in the more coloured narrative, i. 35, had put God Himself instead of the Holy Spirit, the representation would have degenerated into heathen mythology, and the dignity of the true God would have been violated. But both the simpler and the more coloured narrative therefore guarded itself with the more care against such representation. The shortest and most striking description of the working of the Holy Spirit in Christ is found in passages such as Rom. i. 4, p. 282, n.; Heb. ix. 14.

thought of his prophetic activity, that he entered into that activity in God, as indeed he must have felt himself from the first conceivable moment of his earthly life called of God;[1] how much that is beyond and above this is involved in the thought, that the Holy Spirit Himself fashioned and consecrated this life of Christ throughout from the very first moment of it! But the Holy Spirit in such passages always appears as the higher power. Nevertheless, just this, combined with all other proofs, must lead us on to the right view of the whole subject. As Christ's earthly work was finished only with the last exhalation of His natural breath, so only with this last breath did the whole power of the Spirit that during His temporal existence could proceed from Him stream out into the world, in order henceforth as a power of the Holy Spirit such as had never been in humanity before, to lay hold upon all those who would allow themselves to be apprehended and led by it. Not until Christ is glorified, or the Logos historically perfected, is the Holy Spirit ranked after Him; because now the Holy Spirit has appropriated the whole fulness and power of the Logos, and only with this fulness and power can move and influence all who in reality allow themselves thus to be moved and influenced. The earthly living Christ must have felt this; and suggested as it is in the older Gospels,[2] John, in the passage most suited for its expression,[3] but states it more definitely and fully, as Christ apprehended it, observing elsewhere just as clearly and yet spontaneously the temporal distinction described above.[4] For if it belongs to every spirit, as the original power that impels life, to dominate its own entire realm, how much more may this Spirit now embrace and vivify the whole realm of human life in God!

[1] Jer. i. 5.

[2] Matt. x. 19 f.; Mark xiii. 11; Luke xii. 11 f., a memorable utterance from the "Collection of Discourses," although taken up in all these Gospels in a different connection.

[3] In the discourse prior to His glorification, John xiii. 31–xvi. 33.

[4] John vii. 39, cf. xx. 22.

§ 336. It was in the apostolic age, therefore, that the Holy Spirit first became conspicuous in fullest significance as a purely divine power, although His influence was already known under the Old Covenant. But the manner in which He was active in the energetic period of the youth of Christianity, and in which He may still be active, New Testament evidence places before our eyes clearly enough.

1. First of all, as the representative of the glorified Christ, He is constantly near the faithful, at least may constantly be near them, and, as a luminous cloud hovering above their heads, may descend to inspire and quicken their spirits. If the spirit of every man snatched away from this sensuous life may still be near to many living men in a thousand memorials and subsequent influences, how much more may and must the Spirit of God that once living and working in Christ came nigh to men, afterwards, when Christ is snatched away from the eye of sense, remain for ever as near to them, as if Christ Himself, with His whole infinite love and grace, His free and righteous indignation against all that is unholy, and His whole spiritual being, were still present. Thus, then, the Holy Spirit may in everything animate and impel the individual man, in love, in joy, in confidence in God, in hope,[1] as also in sorrow and earnest desire;[2] and if there is a spirit in communities of men, this also, at least among Christians, shall be hallowed more and more by His power.[3] In the tranquillity of life such is the constantly uniform sway and ministration of the Holy Spirit, as if with Him Christ Himself were ever present with His disciples, nay, His Spirit dwelt within them.[4] Moreover, as by this sway and ministration of the Holy Spirit, and this fulness of spiritual life never till then experienced in the world, all the individual endeavours and acts of the faithful are to be inspired; so also it is the Holy Spirit who, searching out everything in the

[1] Rom. v. 5, viii. 6, xiv. 17; 1 Thess. i. 6.

[2] Rom. viii. 11–27.

[3] According to 2 Thess. ii. 13.

[4] According to the words 1 Cor. iii. 16; Rom. viii. 9, 11; repeated 2 Tim. i. 5, 14.

world, searches out also the deep things of God,[1] and under whose active working and name the old prophecy now lives again.[2] For brevity's sake and the rounding of the sentence in discourse He is often spoken of merely as "the Spirit," and yet only the Holy Spirit as known to all Christians is meant.

2. But there come also days full of agitation and despondency, when the faithful are disposed anxiously to desire that Christ were still present with His whole visible help. At the end of His life on earth He was able to say that none who had stood nearest to Him had perished save one who was well known;[3] but now He is separated from them irretrievably, and the more remote the salvation appears the more distant He seems. Such situations, according to John's description, unparalleled as it is in its truth and sublimity, Christ had in view at the moment of His departure from His disciples;—situations the more serious and critical in life when the visible Christ has withdrawn. But the fitting counsels in relation to them John reports from the farewell discourse of Christ to His disciples. If then the faithful are resolved neither to forsake God and Christ nor the Holy Spirit, now indeed the hardest struggle begins, the struggle between the dependent spirit of the individual, anxious and depressed in its human weakness, and the Holy Spirit who is known and believed to have come into the world through Christ and to continue His activity for ever uplifted between God and man, promoting the believing prayer that cries for help, and presenting it as mediator before God. How in this struggle in which the faithful disciple is engaged, the Holy Spirit conquers, and pours ever anew a divine and unfailing confidence into the heart, the apostle who knew all this most profoundly in his own long experience, himself describes fully

[1] 1 Cor. ii. 10.

[2] According to 1 Cor. xiv.; cf. Rev. ii. 7 ff., xiv. 13, xxii. 17; Acts xiii. 2, xxi. 11; 2 Thess. ii. 2.

[3] John xvii. 12, and this parenthesis is just there so significant in view of the previous farewell discourse, xiii. 31–xvi. 33.

and definitely and with unsurpassable truth.[1] This is in point of fact the highest power that dwells in the Holy Spirit, a power with difficulty comprehensible by such as remain at a distance from its inspiration. Yet the confidence with which it may be relied upon admits of illustration. The poet, for example, born in a late age, never supposes that the spirit which once proceeded from a great master of song can vanish altogether from among men; rather does he regard it as possible that this spirit may seize and inspire without measure those who place themselves in close and intimate relations with it. But every true intuition and experience may create for itself its own brief but appropriate expression. In the discourses of Christ, as John reports them, the Holy Spirit is represented, in a suitable connection, as the "Advocate" (Paraklétos) whom the glorified Christ will send from God to the faithful as the true mediator between feeble man and God, and who as a genuine advocate seeks out in times of distress whoever desires help, puts into distinct words his obscure complaints, and coming with them to God is his representative[2] before Him; a bold but striking word, characterizing what as a purely spiritual transaction cannot without difficulty be briefly described.

3. But not merely do embarrassments from without come upon the faithful from which there can be no true deliverance save by an earnest seeking after new help from the Holy Spirit. From within the community also, nay from within the heart and mind of the individual member of it, complicated questions unexpectedly arise, and serious hindrances to a firm stedfast life in God, which may awaken the yearning and yet fruitless desire that Christ were again still visibly present to solve such problems and remove such

[1] Rom. viii. 31–39, cf. 5–30.

[2] John xiv. 16 f., 26, where, according to the context, there is first made prominent the more peaceful inner operation of the Holy Spirit; then xv. 26, His active contention; and xvi. 7–14, where this is further set forth, only with greater fulness and perspicuity. And yet the former lies already in Matt. x. 19 f.; and the latter with a similar image of "intercession" in Rom. viii. 26 f.

obstacles. Nor does it seem that in the life of any of the apostles occasions of this kind were wanting. From the New Testament, and all other sources, it is clearly indicated in what wholly new controversies and difficult complications, in matters affecting Christian faith and conduct, a Peter, a Paul, a John were engaged, and what inner Christian conflicts for the utmost certainty and assurance, which indeed the urgency of the situation demanded, arose in consequence even to them. At such times it is of moment to exalt one's own spirit wholly in the Holy Spirit, and to allow oneself so to be taught of Him as if Christ Himself, with the clear light of His own teaching, were still present.[1] In the midst of the frailty of life and the darkness of the world, to win all divine assurance, to be consciously inspired by the energy and guided by the light of the Divine Spirit, to be in fact taught as of God in affairs for which all human wisdom had hitherto proved insufficient; this for many struggling souls in the Old Testament had already been no vain desire and aim, and its perfect realization was a blessed hope for the Messianic future.[2] But now far more than in earlier days all this might and must be found fulfilled in the way in which Christianity had brought fulfilment; and in reality it was so found in manifold forms, according to the special spiritual nature of the individual and the historical situation of the entire community. At the first Christian Pentecostal feast, the community, assembled for devotion and wrestling prayer, were for the first time so possessed by this holy power that in one moment they learned what hitherto they had never been able to understand. By a sudden illumination from above, Peter feels his spirit wholly changed and its inmost depths profoundly moved, as a clear vision and corresponding command show the will of Christ and the

[1] According to John xiv. 26; cf. other utterances concerning all that Christ could not tell His disciples till *now*, xvi. 12. In another form the same truth lies in such expressions as Phil. iii. 15.

[2] According to passages such as Ps. xxxii. 8 f.; Jer. xxxi. 34; B. Isa. liv. 13; cf. the echo of such passages in 1 Thess. iv. 9.

power of the Holy Spirit.[1] Paul, too, as a Christian, struggles throughout the rest of his life, that he may never again lose that illumination and strength of spirit he has once gained, but rather that, in the perception of all Christian truth, he may become more and more confident. And at last John, in the presence of diverse errors that sought in wanton profusion to obtain currency in the young community, shows in all calmness the true nature and power of the Holy Spirit in the enlightenment and guidance of Christians at all times. Here are some of the clearest examples of this power of the Holy Spirit, not merely to strengthen and illumine the faithful on all occasions and emergencies, but also to conduct them from one stage of knowledge to another, and from victory to victory over all the hindrances to the better Christian life which new complications raised. Every conquest of this kind in the apostolic age gave a mighty impulse to the advancement of the entire Christian life and the progress of Christian salvation in the world; and that in all future time this same result may, nay must, take place, the Bible, so far from denying, expressly presupposes and suggests.

But certainly, if this is to take place, one of the most necessary pre-conditions of it is that everything that Christ in His visible manifestation, by discourse and deed, effected and established in the world shall be freshly and vividly preserved in the community and continually renewed. In the flow and pressure of the times that followed, how readily might be dissipated or obscured the original fulness and clearness of all that He Himself in His temporal life openly taught and founded for all mankind! Yet there it stands historically in its sublime elevation, its indispensableness, and its unsurpassed truth, and there it must continue to stand for all coming time, the irrefragable basis of all divinely-human life, as for the community so for each individual of it; for

[1] According to Acts x. 1–xi. 18, where just on this account the "Spirit" is mentioned, xi. 12, and indeed here and elsewhere with brevity, but merely in order that the language where it is fitting may be the more modest.

with exactness and amplitude, and a growing richness and splendour, all this is known to-day far more than some of our contemporaries suppose. But in order rightly to know it in its whole truth and connection and fulness, and to place it ever afresh before one's spirit, the Holy Spirit from whom it flowed must already have inspired man and uplifted him to His own altitude. Only the poet can rightly estimate the poet's work, only the artist the artist's, and find in it the impulse to further progress; so only by aid of the Holy Spirit is the work of the Spirit fully understood. For this reason it is appropriately said in Christ's farewell discourse to His disciples, according to John, that the Holy Spirit will call to their remembrance all that He has before told them.[1] Indeed, by way of example, what is the Gospel of John itself but such a freshly living reminiscence of Christ's whole appearing, which His most loyal disciple, by aid of that same Holy Spirit, could in later days bequeath to the world? Equally appropriate is still another saying, viz. that the Holy Spirit, by His coming and abiding and working in the world, will then only truly glorify Christ, and all the words He discourses He will hear of Him and derive from Him,—nothing essentially foreign shall intermingle therewith; and in such manner only will He further advance the work of Christ.[2]

§ 337. It is quite true, however, that this entire spiritual condition, though it may arise in the case of the most solitary Christian, yet it has nevertheless its permanency and its pre-eminent truth invariably and necessarily in the "community" itself. Moreover, like every condition historically developed among mankind, it has its variations of growth and strength; with the individual, as in the great community, there will be times when the highest elevation is attained, and when there is decline of longer or shorter duration, and even when there appears to be complete decay. On some occasion the Spirit of the glorified Christ must have first with

[1] John xiv. 26. [2] John xvi. 12–14.

irresistible force replenished the disciples, not as isolated individuals merely, but as one and all they were gathered together in full assembly, and must have created them anew as by a second and higher baptism into fearless witnesses and publishers of Christian truth. It must have been on such occasion precisely as if, in their very midst, the Spirit of Christ, held to be dead, had visibly and palpably in thousandfold power reappeared in the world, to remain in it indestructibly for ever. Just such event actually occurred; and it is here the high significance of the first Pentecostal feast is found, whose historical reality, in the main, it would be folly itself to attempt to deny.[1] How this latest and yet truly characteristic and purely spiritual power of Christianity was preserved during the whole long period of the rest of the life of the Apostle John, and became in the pressure and heat of the time the sole refuge and defence of the young community, the whole of the New Testament apart from the Acts of the Apostles attests. Indeed, the first three Gospels would not have spoken of it briefly, nor ultimately the Gospel of John in copious detail, as so significant, had it not actually maintained its high significance without interruption, and even given evidence of its presence more and more in certain outward and palpable signs.[2] But that during those times this power did not always and everywhere retain its first fresh energy undiminished, may be shown by the admonition to the community, "not to grieve the Holy Spirit which had once been received as the seal of the new Christian life," as man through ungodliness grieves the living God Himself.[3] Much also of a similar import finds expression elsewhere in the Epistles. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, one of the first and best of a younger Christian generation, mentions, it is true, the power of the Holy Spirit

[1] Cf. *History*, vii. 88–105; and the *Drei ersten Evangelien*, ii. p. 64 ff.

[2] Concerning which see below.

[3] Eph. iv. 30, according to the ancient phrase, Deut. xxxii. 21, and especially B. Isa. lxiii. 10. The last passage may attest how early the Holy Spirit was regarded as a personal power that may be gladdened or grieved.

among Christians,[1] and once designates it indeed in a striking passage by new phraseology, the "spirit of grace," and love from above;[2] but on the whole he no longer speaks of it so vividly as Paul. Nevertheless, this power can never be wholly dissipated, and can never cease to work so long as the remembrance of Christ and of Christianity endures; and not merely because where the living memory of Christ abides it must ever return, but also because it is in all Christianity the truly conserving and continuously formative power, and can only find the close of its special significance when all men have become as Christ. This, indeed, could be very distinctly felt in the times of the Apostle Paul; and therefore he says, in a suitable place, by a figure peculiar to him, the Holy Spirit is an "earnest" Christendom has received from Christ.[3] As the departing friend leaves behind, to redeem it again, a pledge of his love and his hope, so the Holy Spirit as such pledge unites the earthly living disciples with their now removed Lord, and guarantees the hope inspired by Him that He will one day return to them with the greater gift of the perfected spiritualization or blessedness of all the faithful. And in the same connection of thought the apostle compares all that is then realized in Christendom as the power of the Holy Spirit simply to an "offering of first-fruits," to which at harvest time other and far richer fruits must succeed.[4]

But it is quite possible, further, that one who feels himself moved by the Holy Spirit should nevertheless not be moved by Him purely and simply enough; and he may even publicly boast in the community of such inspiration when he is all the time following wrong and pernicious impulses. This happened very early in the history of Christianity. The Holy Spirit was held to be a high and wonderful power by

[1] Heb. ii. 4, vi. 4, cf. ix. 14. The Holy Spirit to this writer is already especially in Holy Scripture, iii. 7, ix. 8, x. 15.

[2] Heb. x. 29.

[3] 2 Cor. i. 22, v. 5; more freely repeated, Eph. i. 14.

[4] Rom. viii. 23; according to 19, 23, the fuller offering that ultimately follows may be termed the *υἱοθεσία*.

all who professed, sincerely or otherwise, to participate in it; and how easily may any power be misused, especially one that is invisible and purely spiritual, and appears to many men in such wonderful manifestations, whether he who supposes himself able to speak and act under its authority be consciously or unconsciously mistaken! The example of Simon Magus and others of his class is sufficiently distinct and prominent in the New Testament.[1] The Apostle Paul, who must have known what the Holy Spirit is in reality, and how He manifests Himself, saw occasion in his Epistles to defend himself against some who boasted of the Holy Spirit themselves, and yet denied it in his case.[2] Ultimately, John also had to suffer much from the arrogance of men whose pretensions were similarly unfounded.[3] But with all the more care do the genuine apostles definitely guard against any misuse of a power so transcendent and so wonderful, and about which mistake is so easily made. With minuteness of detail, but from the moral point of view which is readily and universally appreciable, Paul shows how the Holy Spirit when really present must manifest and authenticate His presence.[4] Subsequently, when in the new Christianity the diversity of spirits had become in reality much more marked, John, in his calm but emphatically decisive way, distinguished briefly and sharply between the "spirit of truth" and the "spirit of error," and demands that as in all questions of life, so especially in that which is then more particularly dealt with, the spirit of truth may rule.[5] And it is just as if, in the words concerning the Holy Spirit, previously expounded,[6] which John resuscitates in the valedictory discourse of Christ,

[1] In passages such as Acts viii. 9, xiii. 8 f., xvi. 16–18, xix. 13–16; Rev. xiii. 11–17, and others.

[2] As may be manifestly inferred from the expression in 1 Cor. vii. 40, but also from many other passages of the Epistles.

[3] Therefore in 1 John iv. 1 f., just as the Deuteronomist, xii. 2–6, he so strongly calls for the trying of the spirits.

[4] Chiefly where he discourses of the "fruit" of the true Spirit, Gal. v. 22; subsequently repeated in somewhat similar phraseology, Eph. v. 9, 11.

[5] 1 John iv. 6, cf. 1–5, v. 6.

[6] § 335, p. 324 ff.

the expression, "the Holy Spirit," were with greater precision involuntarily defined by the other expression, "the spirit of truth,"[1] in order to prevent any possible error concerning the nature and conception of it. For if, in its deepest life and aims,[2] Christianity is one and the same with the truth,— which according to the divine will should rule in humanity, and where it is insufficiently known should be assiduously sought after still further, — so it is self-evident that the Holy Spirit, as it should rule among men and lead them forward to their ultimate destiny, must be one and the same with the spirit of truth; so that no one can hope to be animated by His breath, and to act and speak from His inspiration, who does not love all truth, and zealously strive that it alone may prevail.

§ 338. Such errors and abuses, however, in no way hinder us from regarding the Holy Spirit as the purely divine power He really is, and may indeed still in Christianity be felt to be, while He is cherished in His universal significance and efficacy as bringing health and salvation with far more completeness and certainty than in the period of the old community. He is, it is true, apart from God, the most purely spiritual power conceivable; but so much the less does that prevent us from regarding Him as a real and proper power, since indeed all true power in the world everywhere proceeds from spirit, and spirit proceeds from God. And, indeed, other spiritual moving forces and impulses in humanity may well have also each its possibly good power, may give forth fruit springing only from itself, and reach at last to the eternal being and life of God Himself, as, for example, knowledge or wisdom.[3] But whilst other divine powers of this character approach only single sides and capabilities of the human spirit in order to touch and move them, the Holy Spirit where He touches and moves the human spirit expressly

[1] John xiv. 17, xv. 26, xvi. 13, cf. viii. 32–47.
[2] § 42, *Revelation; its Nature and Record*, pp. 118-123.
[3] § 250, p. 129 ff.

approaches the whole spirit in all its deepest and most essential being in order to fit men first for the new birth and then for all divine life and aspiration. He thus stands to man in the place of God; and yet is not one and the same with God, since indeed the purely divine Spirit, so far as He is in God and works from Him in the world, is through God Himself the Holy One from eternity; but in this case the idea of the Holy Spirit is rather to be understood of Him in so far as He has attained for men His full distinctness and definiteness in historical conflict with the human spirit where this has become unholy, and therefore only as through the true prophets, and at last most purely and mightily through Christ, He has manifested Himself to mankind.

But henceforth in this distinctness the Holy Spirit remains the more surely for all mankind an equal, invariable, and eternal power, as in His unique character He is the only power that can aid mankind with an ever new and ever living energy to advance from stage to stage nearer and nearer to its ultimate destiny in conformity with the will of God. If God, notwithstanding that He is supersensuous and invisible, is to man an all-determining power, and at the same time the person[1] who invisibly yet clearly and surely for ever hovers before him; so is the Holy Ghost also in the special manner just explained. As man may in his folly imagine himself able to withdraw from the power of God, so may he also, but only to the general detriment and corruption of his own spirit, free himself from the power of the Holy Spirit. Apostolic Christianity was full of the most vivid consciousness of the Holy Spirit, as such supreme power; and as antiquity sought most eagerly the traces of the power of the invisible God, and when it found them persistently and gladly retained the memory of them, so the New Testament shows us distinctly enough how in different ways, and by signs unheard of before, the manifold coming and overwhelming power of the Holy Ghost was experienced,

[1] § 170, p. 58 f.

not merely as one of the highest angels but as of God Himself.[1] In the more vivid imagination of individual narrators, and in the bolder presentation of divine transactions, reference was made early enough not merely to the Holy Spirit as discoursing, coming, drawing, leading generally, but also to His appearing in a more definite manner.[2] That the word for spirit is feminine in Hebrew and neuter in Greek does not repress the impulse to think of Him as a living power and as a person. But in those circles where it retained most purity, apostolic Christianity was too cautious, and faith in this heavenly power was too fresh and self-sufficing, to favour, on the basis of the idea of a person, indulgence in freer and more coloured representations concerning the Holy Ghost.

The Christian faith could not but rest now firm as a rock upon the actual presence and undoubted operation of the Holy Spirit, as indeed it must always continue in such attitude and in such confidence. How joyful and certain this faith was in the apostolic time, the whole New Testament shows. No special prescription of Christ, no outward constraint of any kind, demanded this new faith. It had come, as all higher truth comes, involuntarily, by the most powerful personal experiences; and it will be preserved in the same way. For Christ Himself had indeed created in His own disciples the possibility of this faith, so that at the right time it the more quickly reached full realization: but this also He promoted among them only as He promoted every other higher belief.

[1] Freely varying momentary traces are such as are noticed according to mere reminiscence in Acts ii. 2–4, iv. 31; but the abiding traces were the "gifts of grace," or charismata. Cf. *History*, vii. 114 f.

[2] From the earliest gospel narrative, Mark i. 10 is here relevant; from the later, that mentioned above, p. 319, which is described in Luke i. 35 with more colour than in Matt. i. 18–20, but yet with the old Hebrew dread of distorting and profaning the Divine by human passions.

XVIII. THE CHRISTIAN TRINITY.

§ 339. When the source from which some blessing is anticipated or some issue awaited, is neither an actual and palpable possession nor an object the outward eye beholds, faith is found to be in every case essential. If this holds good in matters small and great, sensuous and spiritual, it is especially applicable in relation to powers that provide and determine for man that which is his highest blessing and which conducts him to his better destiny. Upon these powers, invisible and purely spiritual as they are, faith must rest with an energy and a perseverance as upon nothing else beside. Since Christ has appeared among men, no longer do we speak of God alone as the object of faith; but the rejection of faith in Him now involves the rejection of faith in Christ and in the Holy Spirit. For Christ in His historical manifestation and eternal significance and the Holy Spirit are, with God, three powers, different indeed in themselves and always to be distinguished, if each power is to provide for man that salvation of which it is the special source; and yet all so completely in harmony and so coincident in operation both in what they are for man and in what they are to accomplish for him, that only their working together can procure through the one faith in them that salvation which alone is man's true salvation. The relation in which they stand to each other, how one presupposes the other, the second the first, the third the first and second, has already been shown. But how inseparably and necessarily related they are to human thought, and how certainly man obtains the true salvation only as he directs his faith to each, and so in their right relation to all as to one, is plainly enough perceptible. For regarding the Christian Trinity as a chain of three links, if we may so speak, the truth we are urging is seen whether this chain be traced in its connection from below upward, or from above downward, or whether it be contemplated somewhat more closely from the centre outwards.

1. The better spirit which we may designate the Holy Spirit always in some measure meets those who to-day aspire after a better life and a divine salvation, if with any degree of seriousness they come into connection with Christian thought, endeavour, and literature. Whether one lives in the midst of the Church and is touched by a thousand evidences and traces of this Spirit, or whether the glowing fire of the Holy Spirit shines forth upon the mind as it studies and ponders in solitude the immortal words of the Bible, always is the Holy Spirit near, and may be drawn consciously nearer, even if its whole enlightening power be not as yet realized. Nor were the apostles themselves in their day with all their labour able to accomplish more than the kindling of the light and fervour of the Holy Spirit in the individual and in whole communities.[1] But when once the radiant light and full energy of the Holy Spirit are supposed to have been realized, the assurance that the Spirit that is felt is actually the same Spirit that once streamed forth upon the earth from Christ Himself, is precisely the assurance that is constantly needed. This, however, can only be won by directing the mind wholly to Christ in His historical manifestation, to ascertain most clearly in Him, as the resplendent mirror of God Himself, what are the necessary characteristics of the humanly-divine life, and also to obtain a vivid consciousness of what the divine power of the glorified Christ really is; and in this way to arrive at the conviction that he may justly deem himself speaking and acting under the impulse of the Holy Spirit, only if he speaks and acts as the glorified Christ would have done under the new circumstances of the present time. But worldly affairs are subject to continual change; only the laws of that divine order of the world in which they are ever comprehended, remain, with the will of God Himself, invari-

[1] This is seen very clearly from the epistles sent to the churches shortly after they were founded, for example, those to the Thessalonians, and even those to the Galatians and Corinthians.—"Light" as in Eph. v. 9, where τοῦ φωτός interchanges very remarkably with τοῦ πνεύματος in the manuscripts. "Ardour," ζῆλος, as in 1 Cor. xii. 31, xiv. 1, 39; 2 Cor. xi. 2.

able. An infinite variety of events occurs of which Christ in His earthly life did not speak, and about which no direct decision can be obtained from His mere words and deeds as historically presented to us. Inasmuch, therefore, as Christ contemplated all earthly events and judged all human affairs from the point of view of God Himself, he also who deems himself fully at one with the historical Christ and living entirely under the sway of the glorified Christ, must uplift himself still further with Him to God; and he can cherish the belief that he lives wholly in accordance with the will of Christ only as he, with as sure and unobscured vision, looks forth upon every worldly event in each new time, as from the presence of God Himself, and is conscious that he finds over against such event the will of God in relation to it. As Christ Himself ever pointed His followers ultimately to God alone, and did this even in such parting words as those in John's Gospel, where He admonishes them to "abide in Him" that thus through Him they may abide in God;[1] so His faithful disciple must mount up in such movement and direction of his spirit by these stages to God Himself, and can find only in Him full blessedness and rest. The interrelation is here so close and inseparable, that the transition in discourse from the Holy Spirit moving in men to the pure "Spirit of God"[2] is spontaneously taken in the appropriate place, and the New Testament sufficiently indicates that it is only of God that Christ and the Spirit can be perfectly known and rightly valued.[3]

2. The last observation leads us naturally from the method we have designated as "from below upwards" to the converse.

[1] According to the ancient sacred image of the vine, so extremely appropriate and so genuinely Israelite in its character, and also according to its further elucidation; John xv. 1–16, cf. xiv. 10–17, xvii. 23.

[2] As in 1 John iv. 2; but it is Paul rather than John that loves this transition to highest names where the connection of thought readily leads to it, as 1 Cor. ii. 11–14, iii. 16; Rom. viii. 9–14. But how finely and appropriately he can retain the distinction conceivable between them is especially shown in 1 Cor. xii. 3, where Christ is placed in the central position.

[3] John vi. 44, 65, viii. 16, 18.

There is nothing in the Bible that forbids us, in our contemplation of this highest of all subjects, from considering it also more particularly "from above downwards;" rather does it require this of us if we take in view its entire contents. Nay, it would seem as if the Old Testament, without which even the New Testament itself is nothing, warned us throughout to adhere stedfastly to God alone as the object of that faith of which we are now treating. As in the Old Testament the true God is strictly the one great heavenly power alone to which faith is to be directed, why should it not be so to-day, since without being surely in God man can win, speaking generally, no true salvation? But in point of fact the matter stands otherwise even in the Old Testament. For from all primitive times downwards it has happened that after personages have arisen among men of such a character as to be the manifest channel through which divine words and deeds proceeded into the world, the trust and faith of many have been turned toward them as to higher beings. The wide distance that separates humanity from God does not remain a dreary waste. The fruits of the thought and deeds of men of God tend to fill it up with a growing fulness and light, and for the furtherance ultimately of the final destiny of the human race. It is true that in the ancient community of the true religion, all genuine prophets, and all whom the Old Testament celebrates as "men of God," rejected all faith given to them as men, and resisted any attempt to invest them with divine honours. It was precisely in this that Jahveism distinguished itself as the true religion from all heathenism; and even the offering of divine adoration to the saintliest of men after their death was most rigidly avoided. But nevertheless this did not prevent the nation from rendering to the Patriarchs and to Elijah, after their death, extraordinary reverence,[1] and from contemplating Moses especially, in the course of time, as having his countenance radiant with the reflection of God's glory, and as being the

[1] *History*, i. 317 ff., iv. 102–113.

man accredited of God in whom the people were bound to believe;[1] although just in that already later age, when there had grown up a powerful yearning to pay more than human reverence to the greatest of the ancient dead, the true religion found expression for this feeling by anticipating the Messiah as the perfected Man of God yet to come. Thus therefore in the province of the development of the true religion the Old Testament period shows what inextinguishable desire dwells in every generation to behold the divine life as the highest conceivable life perfected also in man, so far as it can be perfected and seen in man.

Accordingly, after He whom the Old Testament so urgently called for had come, and had come otherwise than most people expected, yet as alone He could properly come; and after He had shown by the clearest and most perfect example how the life of all men must shape itself in accordance with God's will, the glance of men who sought to do God's will, and to find the salvation springing from a life in harmony with it, necessarily turns from God directly towards Him. Moreover, men now find in Him all that in this respect was sought, viz. besides the purely divine nature and life, the perfect humanly-divine; besides the eternal Father, the eternal Son; besides the clear and manifest destiny of the whole human creation, the only true and proper beginning of its consummation, and the living impulse for the advancement by all men of the work of God in creation upon this true and proper way. The fruit of the right thought and deeds of all who worked before Him is so little lost that it finds only here its most fertile soil; and everything which men subsequently strive after and win of like import, where it does not spring from more direct contact with Christ's Spirit and is not promoted by it, bears the true fruit for the life of man only in the way He has opened. But the development of all true religion and of human life in harmony with it has in the whole of antiquity up to Christ run through all the stages of

[1] Ex. xxxiv. 29–35, xix. 9; cf. § 301, p. 226.

its course so directly, and in its ultimate issues with such true and singular exactness, that if the human race desired and were able to recommence its whole career from the beginning, that development must repeat itself in every essential point, a new Christ must be born as Son of God, and must as Son of God be crucified and rise again.[1] But not in such idle repetitions, or in the empty longing for them, does history move along its mighty path from the creation onwards; and Christ will remain until the closing scenes of this present era of the world, the firm, immovable, exalted centre and dividing-line of the two halves of this divinely-human history. As such, indeed, not only the apostles, with all their best and wisest contemporaries, regarded Christ, but also the purest and most pious, together with those most competent to judge from their day down to our own time, have shared this lofty estimate of Him. And if the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews correctly recognised this in the growing obscurities of his time, how much more may we recognise it to-day after all the illustrious as well as dark ages in relation to the Christian faith that have since occurred!

But if all this be fully accepted, and faith in Christ be thus entertained, of what use will it be to recognise merely the historical Christ and not the glorified Christ with all the spiritual powers that proceed only from Him as glorified, or, in one word, to refuse to be led by the Holy Spirit.[2] Thus,

[1] Hence the question may be raised, and indeed it has already been raised, in the *Protestanten-verein* under my superintendence, by a member now deceased, who introduced it and dealt with it very fully: "whether Christ has appeared or will appear among the inhabitants of all the rest of the heavenly bodies, as upon the earth?" But the whole question is tolerably vain so long as we know nothing of the existence of such inhabitants. But so far as the true God is the only true God, in this respect also that His truth and His will to men may be rightly known everywhere, even in the narrowest space, where there are beings created to know Him and free to live in accordance with His will; so far, the question is also idle. It is enough for the present that we can know upon the earth, through Christ, how we should live conformably to the will of God.

[2] According to Paul's expressions, 1 Cor. xii. 3, cf. iii. 23; but in John's Gospel, xiv.–xvi., this comes from the mouth of the Lord Himself in the most graphic manner.

then, following this three-linked chain from above downwards, we arrive at the same result.

3. But it is as we proceed from the intermediate name, or from the second link of this chain to the first and the third, that we get into the living heart of this inseparable unity of the three powers. Everywhere, and by all He says and does, Christ points most vividly back to God and forward to the Holy Spirit, and has become the only true bond between both, and must remain so for ever. From Him it may therefore be most plainly seen how firmly welded this chain is, and how little any one link may be removed from it or transposed in its position. In the last issue everything in this chain is purely spiritual, solely for the spirit of man clear, everlasting light, and for his will perpetual guidance. But from its centre there shines forth at the same time distinctly enough what should be the relation of everything earthly and human to the heavenly and divine, and what is its ultimate destiny.

§ 340. It may therefore be truly said that in the Old Testament faith in three such supreme spiritual powers had been in process of formation up to the appearing of Christ as the end of it. There was, first of all, faith in God, of a nature so pure, true, and invariable, the source of such a fervent and marvellous inspiration, and in its results so fruitful and inexhaustible, that there is nowhere anything like it among the heathen. A very similar faith in the Holy Spirit became also by degrees a mighty power, as has already been shown.[1] Moreover, with increasing distinctness faith in the coming Messiah was superadded, as if to fill up the wide gulf that opened between all that is heavenly and all that is earthly, and to fill up this gulf apart from faith in the superhuman power of perfected men and historically illustrious exemplars, which subsequently retired rather into the background before faith in Holy Scripture, with its divine contents, that yet stood so near to man. For faith in the coming of

[1] § 82 ff.; *Revelation; its Nature and Record*, pp. 276–299.

the Messiah was of so exalted a nature that it gradually filled the hearts of the pious with a purer and more powerful emotion than faith in an Abraham, a Moses, an Elias, or in Holy Scripture. In all such beginnings and earliest forecasts of the New Testament faith cannot be left out of account, since it could not possibly have arisen without them. But apart from faith in God, everything in this whole development remained void, without inner and necessary connection, and consequently too powerless to attain its ultimate end.

Christianity first formed this chain, uniting in an indissoluble bond all the separate powers that are to faith the security of the continuance of the perfect true religion and of the eternal duration of the blessed life. As all true religion finds in Christianity its sublime culmination and its absolute close for all ages, so we have a special illustration of it here. The highest elements in Christianity, recognised as truth after Christ's glorification from the very first, experienced throughout as the Spirit's power, and appointed to be firmly held, invariable for ever, as the light and energy of its existence and work for the whole future;—all these were inseparably blended in this bond of brief but infinitely significant conceptions and words, in order to become henceforth the witness and token of its spiritual life. No very long time did it need for young Christendom to learn that these three powers were indissolubly united, and to find itself actually under their sway. From the first Pentecostal festival this was at once and for ever established. The whole New Testament is saturated through and through with this indelible fundamental thought of all Christianity, for even the Gospels duly contain the indication of that current of feeling which must lead through Christ's appearing and word to this result. And the language which by reason of this main conception now became prevalent in Christendom, lives and moves in the New Testament still in its whole original copiousness, naivete, and freedom; while the thought is expressed in all the Epistles as well as in the

Apocalypse,[1] interpenetrating them in manifold ways, and making itself in its all-dominating significance perceptible everywhere. In short sentences and formularies this thought is summarily condensed at an early period;[2] and as in baptism there must be an especial and continual remembrance of it, and of its supreme and commanding position in Christianity, so there soon arose a brief and vigorous expression of it which, regarded as that consecrated by the glorified Christ Himself, found at the end of the evangelical collection of discourses its permanent and abiding place.[3]

Every object of faith, the moment a man believes in it, he elevates above himself, confesses his dependence upon it and his hope in it. How much more must this occur here, where the transcendent object of his faith is condensed into three brief names! According to primitive usage, a special human name characterized only a man of worth,[4] and the name of a master denoted the whole power and dignity of him under whom the servant knew that he had protection; so that the higher the master, the more significant is his name in itself, and the more valuable the shelter and guardianship it affords to all those who commit themselves to him.[5] What a name, therefore, is that which is to call to mind Him in whom all power and glory unite! In the present instance, however, the name of God, which is of such unique significance and can so certainly denote of itself alone the highest Being conceiv-

[1] Rev. i. 4–6, where, according to the artificial structure of this salutation, the seven spirits represent the Holy Spirit, though somewhat freely, as in the second place. Cf. *Die Johan. Schriften*, ii. 109 f. The name Holy Spirit is wanting in the Apocalypse, but in its essence it is not wanting, as is shown in § 336, p. 330.

[2] As in the Benediction, 2 Cor. xiii. 13, and here the more appropriately since much is said in the Epistle of the mutual relations of the Three.

[3] Matt. xxviii. 19; cf. *History*, vii. 136.

[4] The slave, according to primitive usage, has no proper name, since he is regarded as merely goods and chattels, or so far as he is living, as an animal, and is only numbered. Such is originally the high significance of the proper name of a man.

[5] According to the well-known phrases, Isa. iv. 1; Amos ix. 12; Jas. ii. 7; Book of Isa. lxiii. 19; Deut. xxviii. 10; Dan. ix. 18 f.; cf. 2 Sam. xii. 28.

able,[1] is extended at the same time to the two other of these powers, and the Christian is baptized in this name in which the three are all one, in order to live continually under their united power and protection, or, if he will, to call himself by it in the world, and to glory in it as the name of his Lord. Such is the significance of baptism, or of preaching "in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit."[2]

§ 341. But the more succinctly this formulary summarizes thus all that is highest and most accepted on this subject, the more necessary is it properly to recognise as well that which is common to all Three, which unites them so indissolubly as that by which the idea of each is distinguished from that of the other. For the unity of the Three would be no living and true unity if one could arbitrarily be the other; moreover, there would thus emerge as the result, instead of the higher unity, only intermingling and confusion, and with this also obscurity and perverse application in the faith of man. Nay, the seriation[3] of the Three names would be itself without

[1] It is sufficiently remarkable that in the New Testament τὸ ὄνομα, 3 John 7, according to the better reading, is similarly used for Christ. Cf. *Johan. Schriften*, i. p. 506.

[2] The preposition εἰς chiefly used in this connection corresponds in the formula of baptism to the Hebrew בְּ; but ἐπί is also used, which signifies properly, as in Mark xiii. 6, Luke i. 14, 47, the lofty ground and reason on account of which something takes place; whilst Luke in the Acts (x. 48) employs the more simple ἐν, "in" (or in certain cases, as i. 5, "with"). According to the explanation given above, the origin and import of these Three are to be traced so absolutely to the deep well-spring of the old true religion and primitive Christianity, that nothing is more perverse than to seek that origin among the heathen, as if the ancient Chinese, Indians, or Buddhists possessed any similar conception. That among many gods or fundamental ideas which became established in a somewhat learned religion, three of the most important are placed together as embracing all, was natural, considering the ancient significance of the number Three; but it has not the least connection with the rise and significance of the Christian Trinity.

[3] [Ewald's word is *Aneinanderreihung*. It cannot fail to be observed how Ewald's representation and language on this great subject, though in the highest degree original and independent, often approximate closely to those of the Ecclesiastical Confessions. Here especially, without doing violence to the sense of the paragraph, we might add at the close, from the Athanasian Creed, "And the Catholic Faith is this: That we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity; neither confounding the Persons, nor dividing the Substance."]

meaning, if one of them, with the specific power it indicates, could be interchanged with another and its power.

1. Every representation of their unity must therefore be rejected which contradicts their true interconnection just explained, and consequently their real unity. These three powers do not casually coalesce into a unity, somewhat as three men or three human powers, however great, might coalesce, because consciously too weak in themselves singly and alone to realize a special aim they have in view. Nor have they sprung forth at last from an earlier unity, as if from some primal root, as though God Himself had need of such a primal root, and in process of time another might arise. Nor indeed, since all are purely spiritual powers,—and even Christ Himself, with all His humanly-historical significance and distinctness, has His place in this series only in accordance with His eternal divine significance and glorification,—is each power singly only a spiritual power in part; as if, for example, instead of the Holy Spirit, Wisdom might be substituted, which, notwithstanding all its high significance as creative power of the universe,[1] represents only a single aspect of God's creative and administrative efficacy. Nor, finally, have the two names succeeding that of God come to be added in their purely spiritual and divine significance only in the time subsequent to that of Christ; rather is it that since His time they possess a significance for men which in like degree they were not felt to possess among men before. But this is involved in the law of the development of all divinely-human history; and only in such development, indissolubly bound up with the divine aim of creation and the last destiny of man in the present era of the world, does the feeling of the unity of these three powers—*i.e.* of their inner harmony or freedom from contradiction, nay more, of their continual inter-relationship and co-operation—find that solution which is given in all that has been said above. Because the same knowledge and revelation of the inner or hidden things of God, which it is the purpose of God to give

[1] § 250, p. 130.

by the whole creation, and in the highest degree in the existing world by man and for man, and which is accordingly for ever wrought out by God, the historical Christ also gives; in whom, as man first of all, and so through man and for man, this knowledge and revelation attain their full realization, and become a new motive power in the world's history. For the historical Christ has this unique significance in His purely spiritual energy, both in relation to the past and the future; in relation to the past, so far as in Him, as individual man, the power of self-revelation, working from God in accordance with all earlier impulses and incipient tendencies, attained its first and, in the individual, supreme consummation; in relation to the future, so far as this power is henceforth for all men the light and the law of their spiritual life, determining how that life must now shape itself, even as it is also a power for the perfect accomplishment of their last destiny such as had nowhere existed before. Further, because the same power of inspiring and vivifying this knowledge and revelation which proceeds from God into the creation as the Holy Spirit, became in Christ at last, in accordance with all its earlier impulses among men, a power such as, in the purity and strength in which it worked, had never before appeared, it must now always be communicated to man through Him as the glorified One. Still further, because these two purely divine powers, inspiring and promoting all spiritual life in man, have, in their whole luminous distinctness, only since Christ's appearing entered into the forces that contribute to the perfecting of all human destiny, they form with God that unity which may now be obvious and certain to every one, so that faith in God has always at the same time to be directed to them as well. If now a man feels himself arrested by the Holy Spirit, he may really in such case be arrested by the light and power of the true God, and yet he may not allow himself with this bare possibility to be content. Is he led by the Spirit to Christ, and does he recognise Christ in His pure historical elevation, and in His ever-living glorified being as well? If it be so, in that case

he may much more definitely apprehend and command the details of worldly events in the same light and power of God; and must, nevertheless, through Christ only seek to be wholly uplifted into the full mind and will of God, as Christ in His earthly life constantly and everywhere did the same.

2. Since, however, in this way these three powers are marked off from each other so finely, and work together so directly that notwithstanding all diversity they are yet, in antithesis to the world and to man, of the same essence, it is very evident that in particular connections of thought they may agree, and the one may stand in the place of the other without the diversity of which we have spoken being lost. When Paul says, "the Lord is the Spirit,"[1] the meaning in the connection in which the words occur is, where Christ is in His whole living energy, there is also the Holy Spirit (and not the mere letter, dead in itself) as if both were one. Similarly John, in the expression, "the Spirit is the Truth,"[2] by no means represents these mutually related ideas as the same, but in accordance with his whole well-known view of these subjects intends to say briefly, where the Holy Spirit moves in His full power, there also is the Truth, so that Truth is inseparable from the Holy Spirit. If now John says, in his brief way of speaking, "God was the Logos," he intends just as little to represent both as the same, as Paul does when he speaks of Christ and the Holy Spirit, but only to say, the Logos was then so little "flesh" as He became later, He is also so little a mere angel, that in His essence or being He was rather God, of wholly and purely divine nature, as the son comprehends in himself the nature of the father, different from him, yet as like him as possible. Nay, the same John says in like sharp brevity, "Spirit is God," and "God is Light," "God is Love,"[3] by which he does not mean to say these mutually related ideas coincide and may be regarded as always equivalent in signification.—There is,

[1] 2 Cor. iii. 17. [2] 1 John v. 6.
[3] John iv. 24; 1 John i. 5, iv. 8.

however, a word in the New Testament which in itself fitly applies to God as well as to Christ, the word Lord, by which in so many ways God was designated in the Old Testament, by which, however, Christ was designated only as Lord of His earthly community. It was always sufficient for Paul, where God and Christ were joined in one closely related succession, and in the more solemn address of salutation, to say rather, for the sake of clearness, "God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ." Yet this is somewhat a rare case. Moreover, since, according to the allegorical interpretation, the Logos, and then still further, Christ, was understood in the "Lord" of the Old Testament, it is intelligible that in subsequent centuries, under the influence of quite other and more powerful motives, "Christ" might more and more be interchanged with "God."[1] But as the Church as a whole, even in the most disturbed and gloomy times, always cherished an irrepressible reluctance to allow this interchange, so the Bible itself everywhere, when rightly accepted and understood, does not offer the least justification for it.[2] Otherwise it would happen to Christianity as it happened to heathenism; a more recent, or, according to later feeling, an otherwise more powerful or gracious God would displace the more ancient Deity, and all Christianity would lose its true force and its best light for the world.

3. It is altogether different when one or two from this firmly-linked series of Three are made conspicuous merely because from the sense of the passage it is sufficient or more suitable to speak of one or two in such definite connection of thought. The New Testament shows in this matter the greatest original freedom. That it is quite sufficient to speak of God alone in the proper place is self-evident; but

[1] The chief incentive to this was that it was felt in the unceasing decline of the Roman Empire, in the East as well as in the West, that heathen gods would pass away only before Christ as God, and so Christ was put in their place.

[2] [But are not John i. 1, xx. 28, xiv. 7–9, a full and sufficient justification for such interchange, at least in special moments and under special circumstances?]

James speaks almost solely of God.[1] When the context is suitable, Christ alone may also be so spoken of that the two other powers might also have been there mentioned together.[2] Paul at the beginning of his Epistles salutes his readers always from God and Christ, without ever in this connection adding the Holy Spirit.

This last custom with some other indications suggests that a salutation from the Holy Spirit, and a discourse so framed as if the greeting came from this source, appeared in ordinary speech unsuitable; although the primitive Christian prophets were accustomed to speak in the name of the Holy Spirit,[3] and in the magnificently planned Book of the New Testament Apocalypse, with its profuse art, a correspondingly magnificent introduction is preferred.[4] But it does not follow from this that the Holy Spirit was conceived less as a person. Rather does Christ stand intermediately between God and the Holy Spirit in so far as He now pleads with God, at the request of the faithful, to send to them, as He Himself has been sent of God, the Holy Spirit, but can send that Spirit only thus by God and from God:[5] a representation which, in conformity with Old Testament ideas concerning the procession of the Spirit, could in all logical consistency only thus be stated.[6] And when John designates Christ, as intercessor with God for the transgressions of His disciples, the Advocate,[7] he does

[1] § 323, p. 280 f.

[2] As when in Luke xxiv. 47, indeed, the formula of baptism becomes so shortened from Matt. xxviii. 19.

[3] § 336, p. 329 ff.

[4] [Where the greeting comes from God, and "the seven spirits which are before His throne" (= the Holy Spirit?), and from Jesus Christ; and where it is said, "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith to the churches," Rev. i. 4 f., ii. 7, 11, 17, 29, iii. 6, 13, 22.]

[5] So are solved the merely apparent contradictions between John xiv. 26 and John xv. 26, xvi. 7.

[6] There is also no contradiction if, according to 1 Cor. ii. 12, the Holy Spirit is "of God," and, according to John xv. 26, proceeds "from Him;" in the latter case the figure of a messenger is employed. But at the same time it follows from this how ill-sounding and superfluous was the later addition of *filioque* to the Latin *Symb. Apost.*

[7] 1 John ii. 1 f.

not contradict himself when in the Gospel he reports Christ's parting words declaring that as He has been sent of the Father into the world, so He will send the Holy Spirit from the Father to His disciples as "another Advocate," that is to say, for their consolation and comfort in unmerited persecutions.[1] All such views soon arose among Christians, and with such consistency and readiness that the New Testament nowhere contradicts either itself or the Old Testament.

§ 342. Historically considered, the entire development of all true religion in the midst of the ages of time ended here. With the appearing and glorification of Christ, the purely divine power of the Holy Spirit came at length to its full recognition and efficacy; these two powers as the eternal powers of divine revelation in time and creation are associated with God as Creator and Revealer; and thus the circle of the powers through whose united action man is to move forward to his ultimate destiny in creation, became firmly closed. The expressions of the schools, the Divine Trinity, the Triune God, are not found in the Bible, yet these expressions are fully warranted in so far that the very same creative power, inspiring the whole man, the pure, *i.e.* supermundane, power which is in God, is also in the Logos as the glorified Christ, and in the Holy Spirit, although in different gradation and mode;[2] and each of these two powers therefore in this sense may be felt and realized and thought of as, according to its eternal nature, God, if only it be not forgotten that without the true God neither the Holy Spirit nor the Logos is God for man.

In reality, the unity of the Three may be proved most briefly, in accordance with all that has already been said, by the special nature of the Holy Spirit. Where the Spirit of God works, and is seen by the most evident traces to work, there also God works, there the Spirit of God is but the special and just on this account sole mighty activity of God Himself for the world and in the world. In Christ this activity

[1] John xiv. 16 f.

[2] [*In verschiedener stufe und weise.*]

works so powerfully and absolutely as revelation of the divine Logos, that from Him in His glorification this Spirit proceeds as Holy Spirit, over against the world that has become or is unholy, with a power and a light for mankind such as before Christ was not manifest; although the power of God in revelation was active both as Logos and as Holy Spirit from eternity. So accordingly in their nature and ultimate aim over against the world the Three are One; although it is only since Christ's glorification that as well their diversity as their unity has been clearly conspicuous to mankind. No writings of the New Testament present all this so confidently and so clearly as John's Gospel, and the larger Epistle of the same apostle. Moreover, it is to be noted, indeed, that in John, as in the earlier Gospels also, however firmly and clearly Christ makes conspicuous the unity of the Three, and His own proceeding from the Father, yet He nowhere speaks of His earlier heavenly abode,[1] in the way one might expect perhaps, after the manner of Paul's comparison[2] of the heavenly and earthly abode of the Logos. If, however, in the Old Testament the expressions, "Our God," "My God"—the God who animates the fervour of the pious, and whom it is quite appropriate thus to designate in the right place—are felt to designate nevertheless a wholly different Deity from all those whom the heathen worshipped; so such expressions designate now in Christianity[3] with still closer intimacy the same God as He has revealed Himself through Christ and the Holy Spirit, and can no longer be separated in Christianity from the thought both of Christ and the Holy Spirit.

But the conception of this circle of the supreme and eternal powers of revelation for mankind, with its three members, was at an early period so unusually vivid and

[1] [Cf., however, John xvii. 5.]

[2] Phil. ii. 6-9.

[3] 1 Thess. iii. 9; 2 Cor. xii. 21.—How accurately even before Christianity the Holy Spirit was similarly distinguished from the Spirit of the Lord filling and sustaining the whole universe, is very clearly manifest from Wisd. i. 7, cf. ix. 17.

fresh that it readily brought other objects and characteristics of faith that were always immediately before the view of the Christian, into similar circles, or chains of three members, or into a trinity; as we observe even in the New Testament itself from a very prominent example.[1] In relation to the highest powers of evil also, this conception, when once strongly and vividly suggested, showed its influence very similarly at an early period,[2] as in a kind of prophetico-poetic drama of Satan, the Great Beast and the False Prophet, in which nevertheless the deepest truth lies. For that all origination and impulse of error and sin among men is yet only the counter-image of what God has purposed, and that the spirit also moves actively in it through all stages from above downwards and below upwards, has already been sufficiently indicated in our discussions.

[Ewald's aim, in accordance with the scope and design of Biblical theology, is to leave the doctrine of the Trinity where the Bible leaves it; that is, in its elements and unformulated, as it appears to faith rather than to the speculative intellect. Perhaps he both exceeds and comes short of this aim. But certainly, in harmony with his own oft-repeated principles, the development and authentication of doctrine during the Christian centuries would have been in vain, if we are now to reopen controversies such as preceded the Councils of Nicæa, of Constantinople and Toledo, and to hesitate to accept the full scriptural as well as theological conception of God, as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, one God; a conception, indeed, which the best and purest religious experience of all these centuries not only justifies us in accepting, but also demands and necessitates.]

[1] 1 John v. 6–9; concerning this passage, and concerning the insertion in the Vulgate by an ancient hand of the expression of the earlier thought of the Divine Trinity, cf. the *Johan. Schriften*, i. pp. 494–497.

[2] Rev. xii. 1–xiii. 18. The Trinity of Satan, the Great Beast, and the False Prophet.

XIX. THE DOCTRINE OF IMMORTALITY.

The End of the Whole Way of Man to God.

§ 343. By creation and birth every living man as man is destined for the way to God. What this way must be, if the individual man is consciously to enter upon it, is already revealed in the Old Testament, though only since Christ came has it been made perfectly open and manifest for all. Back to God is the necessary destination of all the world. He has not created it, He does not create it ever anew, that it may remove itself further and further from Him,—from His mind and Spirit, and also further and further from its own ultimate aim and its own essential nature as well. Rather is He its Creator and Lord that in the whole sweep of its movement and in the onward progress of its own formative development, it may continually revert to His mind and will, and for ever reappear before Him, so to speak, for judgment. If this, properly understood, can be said of all the world, how much more must it hold good of man, whose original destination it is with unfettered will to find and keep aright the way to God, in order himself to take part in the work of God in the existing era of the world of mankind, and thereby to contribute to bring about its consummation!

To this last great subject of contemplation, a subject of equal importance with all the rest, our view is now to be directed. It may be represented as the end of this whole era of the world, the era of man; and the relation in which the individual, feeble and mortal in himself, and in which also whole nations, stand to such end. It is evident at once from all that has previously been established, that when in this sentient life of his the individual man finds and walks in the way that corresponds to the will of God, he is aided in his advance upon such way in a twofold manner—(1) Finding and walking in it, he participates immediately in the divine mind and spirit, by which he may be led further and

further, and thus tastes already in the fleeting moments of this mortal life that higher rest and purer joy and delight which may be to him a proof and guarantee that he is not resisting the divine light and the divine will; and (2) he participates also already in the ultimate consummation of the whole divine work in this world to which this way directly leads, such participation being found partly in the certain hope and prospect of this consummation, partly in the inner assurance that his own spirit, touched and moved by the Spirit of God and resting in it, shall enter with that Spirit into the ultimate consummation which is the end of the way. Together these form that true immortality for mortal man which the Bible announces; the former being possible in the midst of the temporal life of this scene of things, the latter stretching out beyond it to all eternity. If now the measure of such double participation in this pure immortality, or in the work of God itself in the world, differs incalculably with the different measure of activity in individual human lives, so also and in similar proportion the extent of the fruit that ripens on this way [1] varies, and the greatness of the reward [2] which human work yields; but the fruit and the reward itself are nevertheless secure to all. And if, moreover, whole communities and nations participate in such reward and fruit, if the way to God has been loyally and intelligently kept, yet everything ultimately depends on the individual. For all that is accomplished in the whole flow of events in the history and experience of communities and nations finds its first as well as its subsequent realization in the living and repeated experiences of the individual. Indeed, in this respect, according to the Bible, such marked personalities as Abraham, Moses, David, and still more Christ, are in this

[1] According to the imagery so frequently found in the Old Testament, Isa. iii. 10, Ps. i. 3, and elsewhere, but still more frequently in the New.

[2] According to the just as striking affirmations whose influence profoundly penetrates from Prov. xi. 18, Gen. xv. 1, Jer. xxxi. 16, into the New Testament, against the obvious larger sense of which some Germans who would be philosophers vainly offer explanations.

living participation in the divine work and its fruit raised to a loftier height than any nation attains.

If, however, man turns aside or withdraws himself from this way, he can participate neither in its temporal nor its eternal fruits; and indeed something more than mere failure to participate in such fruits occurs. For resisting the divine work in the world, or the divine order of the world, which may be disturbed but cannot be abrogated, it turns itself against him [1] with its omnipotence, and punishes him as he deserves; so that although against his will, and compelled only by the omnipotence of God, he must, at least in this respect, come back to Him and His judgment. But these inevitable divine consequences, on the one hand of keeping the right way of God, on the other of deviating from it, are in every case complete only at the end of the whole course, and are only then visible and palpable for such as otherwise would prefer not to see and feel them at all.

For a twofold end is here at once to be further distinguished. Every individual man is a link in this chain of human relation to God and His work in the present world, destined to participate in it, or to take up some attitude towards it. In the infinitude of time and space the individual, it is true, appears to vanish as a grain of dust, yet each grain of dust, having this speciality of character and destination, has its significance and its place in relation to the great and ultimate issue of the work of God in the world. Moreover, history teaches, after thousands of years, how much and to the common eye what unmeasured influence in the present time, the most solitary individual can have for good or ill. For the matter in question concerns what is spiritual, and the Spirit of God can initiate, with the smallest temporal instrument, in the work of God itself what is infinite, infinite at least in its effects to the last possible issue.[2] Now has the earthly life of the individual been shown to be short in its course as against

[1] § 278, pp. 186–190.

[2] As in the very highest degree Christ's earthly life shows.

Infinitude, and historically but limited; nevertheless, within this temporal and historical course, it has the highest divine gift the individual can have, viz. the freedom of the spirit. So long therefore as he lives the earthly life, the movement and bent of his spirit is to other men, nay to himself also, as against God, not to be calculated.[1] He who has greatly erred like Paul, may yet like Paul become the saintliest of men; and he who like David has reached a sublime temporal and divine altitude may yet like David signally fall, as he withdraws himself from the way of God. Only death gives the firm boundary line of final judgment. Just so is it with the life of whole nations, nay of all mankind. But since the work of God in the world runs its course notwithstanding the death of numberless individuals and of whole nations, and with it everything that has already been won on behalf of it, by the one or the other, as good fruit continues also, the end of this work of God with men, and therefore the transition to another great era of the world, can alone bring the last judgment and sentence of God upon the whole of mankind, whose light shall then also shine back with its decisive truth upon all individual men and nations. So necessarily are the anticipations of the divine judgment and its stages interwoven with the thought of the end of all human ways to God.

Belief in this end rightly conceived, in this immortality of mortal man, in this judgment of God going on throughout all stages of time and eternity, is just the chief main article of belief without which all other belief in God and divine things remains incomplete, and which, though it is the chief main article of belief, appears most difficult to living man. For belief in present invisible things rests upon a thousand visible proofs and signs from the entire past, and upon an experience to-day which continually presses in upon the spirit; but in the matter in question the living man appears obliged to take

[1] The thought arises, what a wholly different being man would at once become if the freedom and power of his spirit were such that he always knew beforehand exactly the temporal end of his life! His whole life would shape itself differently if such were the case, or rather would cease.

into account all that concerns his own future which in life here and now he is yet unable to see. It was, in fact, just this prominent article of faith, as the Bible fully and clearly shows, that attained last of all its position of irrefragable certainty and firm confidence. Yet to mark how the Bible closes with such assurance of faith, perfected for ever, we need to recognise and distinguish the same five historical stages of its development which the full contents of the Bible, and all other historical indications, enabled us to distinguish also, in the case of the chief elements of the doctrine of Revelation and the doctrine of God.

Nowhere, however, is it so necessary as here, where the sphere of knowledge extends into the sphere of anticipation, definitely to inquire whether the inner truth, contained, it may be, in the graphic and sensuous imagery in which the mind forecasts the future, has any valid claim to our full belief to-day or not. Touched profoundly by the Spirit of God, the mind of man throws an eager glance into what, next to God Himself, is the very highest object of contemplation, viz. the work of God as it will find its consummation in this great era of the world, notwithstanding all resistance of man. The divine assurance of the development of the whole future of this work rises before the vision in imagery the more vivid and glowing, in proportion as the strife of men directly tends to imperil the certainty and interrupt the progress of the eternal work of God. Pictures of the future, vivid in colour, thus arise before the mind in its anticipations, pictures with respect to which, whilst the pure truth veiled in them may be more and more completely realized, yet the question is unavoidable, what then is in reality this abiding truth which they contain? And the question presses up all the more irresistibly where, as in the Bible, passages stand side by side in which the colouring of this abiding truth differs greatly as the age or the mind differed to which their origin may be traced. Here then is discussed more particularly what is the true "hope" to which man may every moment direct his

glance as he traverses his God-appointed way, and what is the ultimate goal of life which no man should ever fail to mark.

1. *Belief in Immortality in the Earliest Ages.*

§ 344. Were it to be accepted, as in recent times it has often been accepted, that all belief in an immortal destiny for mortal man is only of very late origin, it would be in contradiction to general experience as well as to the Bible, although the Bible is supposed to establish it. The witness of antiquity leads us rather to the conviction that this belief, in the largest view of it, reaches back to a period beyond the known history of nations, and that, although in the sphere of divine things it is rather a special belief, yet it extends to the very earliest ages of the spiritual development of the human race, and in those ages and down to much later times not a little promoted the belief in God Himself. Two different causes in nations that had little in common nurtured this belief, one following the other, and both uniting at last as one mighty influence in its favour.

1. That with the death of a man there does not die at the same time all that has lived and moved in him as a spiritual force, is one of the earliest beliefs that found firm footing in primitive times. How many words and thoughts, acts and deeds of the dead were felt to live and work after him in a thousand ways, not only when his memory was cherished with love and reverence, but also when it was recalled with dread! But in all this, so far as it definitely influenced the mind of the living, it was felt that the mind of the dead still lived; and here was the first beginning in that series of thoughts involving a necessary connection and continuance of all spirits above and beyond outward death, and an element of immortality in mortal man. Who can deny that this was in point of fact a rudimentary faith in an inner and effective connection of all minds with each other, and in a development not merely of outward good, but

of all that is spiritual in man, advancing continuously with the continuous progress of the race? But very early this belief took definite shape and form, and originated special usages in nations that cultivated the higher aspirations, and particularly in those that followed a more settled course of life. Every house held the remembrance of its dead sacred, especially of such as had been eminent in their earthly existence, and the endeavour was made to perpetuate such remembrance by abiding signs. As the single house, so the whole clan and the nation held its ancestors sacred, and the oldest ancestors were reverenced with peculiar fervency. But the heart in its distress sought from them help and counsel; and the oracle of the dead, respect for which continued so persistent, and the whole art of necromancy, once so remarkably cultivated, followed as an important and significant result.[1]

Such a belief in immortality was manifestly extremely vivid even in the earliest ages of the nation of Israel, and it came down from thence into later times by many channels in more or less of vigorous life. We see this from the powerful influence faith in the continued activity and the mysterious continued existence of the great dead exercised upon divinations, examples of which have been preserved in the Old Testament.[2] We see it still more from the ancient and lofty reverence for Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob as the tribal fathers of the nation, and from the belief in their continued existence and their continued care for the well-being and honour of their posterity, which even after the time of Moses still hallowed their memory, uniting gradually with the higher piety of subsequent days, and seeking complete adjustment with it, while finding also in the popular art of discourse and representation a higher significance and finer application with the whole loftier development of the nation.[3] The higher piety adjusted itself with this primitive sacred

[1] §§ 68, 100; *Revelation; its Nature and Record*, pp. 225, 323.

[2] Cf. *Jahrbücher der Bibl. Wiss.* xii. 187–198 ff.; *History*, i. 295 f., iii. 213 f.

[3] *History*, i. 75, 295 f.

feeling after the time of Moses in the worship of Jahveh as the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob; and when Christ, in opposition to the foolish opinion of the Sadducees that immortality was not taught in the Pentateuch, derived from the standing phrase of that sacred book [1] its most striking and summary proof, the argument was not only accordant with this primitive and in its way fully warranted national faith, but was also valid in itself. For how could the true God come into such close and indissoluble connection with the names of the three patriarchs, if they had not in Him an undying significance and force to all living men, and if their spirits did not continue still to live on in Him? Moreover, from the most flourishing period of the life and mind of this ancient nation there sounds forth to us from the mouth of Balaam the aspiration,—

> "O that my soul may die as the Righteous,
> That my afterworld may be as Israel's;" [2]

for the inward power of joyfulness as it struggles to show itself, and the readiness to die as a sacrifice without any fear of death, if only there be companionship with a nation that since the time of its noble ancestry has been fired by the same spirit, cannot be more finely and more touchingly expressed than by praise rising up to the purest admiration which even an enemy like Balaam lavishes upon it when irresistibly seized by the power of divine truth. Who would

[1] Matt. xxii. 31 f.

[2] Num. xxiii. 10. Without doubt there breathes in this expression the most joyful feeling of immortality in the midst of what is mortal, somewhat similar to that which breathes in the oft-cited saying concerning Abraham, John viii. 56; but the glance of expectation is directed, as here and in Gen. xii. 1–3, chiefly to posterity, and this best suits the context, and gives exactly the drift of this saying and of the whole of Balaam's words. Cf. *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* viii. 324 ff. The אַחֲרִית, as in Jer. xxix. 11; Ps. xxxvii. 37, cix. 13; Dan. xi. 4; therefore the signification is hope in the sure prospect of a better future for the world, Prov. xxiii. 18, xxiv. 14, 20. Indeed, this brief expression יֵשׁ אַחֲרִית, "there is a future," repeated in the Book of Proverbs as of more than common significance, includes the whole infinitude of hope in something immortal in all divinely-human history.

not be glad to die in the certain prospect of having such descendants as should appear in the case of a community of the Righteous, *i.e.* of Israel?[1]

2. Veneration for the illustrious dead, and the glance into the dark realms of death and towards the gloomy gods of the Underworld, formed, as we have seen, some of the earliest elements of a fear of the immortal powers that overshadow the present existence of man, and touch all that is mortal. Yet there arose also early enough a fear of heavenly powers that must become far more fruitful in results. These heavenly powers cast forth a clear, serene radiance; and if among the infinite host of the dead there was one of incomparably bright and glorious memory who appeared to be raised immeasurably above the countless throng, it is not surprising that the feeling prevailed that he had vanished from the earth and been taken up directly by the heavenly powers, and that the mind fondly dwelt upon his immortal honour. How, among the heathen, heaven was thus peopled with heroes is well known. The more remarkable is it that the Bible in its most ancient portions speaks only of a single man of this kind, viz. Enoch. But this is sufficiently explained by the early reaction of the true religion of the nation of Israel against everything of a heathen nature.[2] A heaven filled with heathen gods or demigods, the religion of Israel could not tolerate. Some ineradicable reminiscences of these once highly venerated and sacred forms were, it is true, retained, but they occur only occasionally and are pale and faded; or they occur in the popular traditions rather than in the actual religion of the community of Israel; and Enoch is now the solitary figure whose memory has been rescued from the midst of a wide circle of such faded reminiscences of the very earliest times, and handed down to us by a book dating from a period when the old true religion was at its zenith.[3] But the idea of translation by the heavenly powers and of the immortality of mortal

[1] § 304, p. 243 ff.
[2] Gen. v. 21–24 from the Book of Origins.
[3] *History*, i. 265–267.

man of this grander and more radiant kind distinguishable as "glorification,"[1] was persistently retained in the community until the latest ages; and at last, when the true religion established by Moses struggled with growing power to break through its first limits, the idea sprang forth with wholly new force and nobler splendour into fresh and new-born life.

3. Heaven having now become in this twofold sense the infinitely sublime and distant home of the brighter gods and demigods, the regions of the Underworld were likewise appropriately extended for all the dead that seemed to lack such glorification. Thus arose the full conception of the Three Worlds which in the nation of Israel in the primitive days before the time of Moses gave completeness to the popular view. Life and light above in the invisible heights, darkness and death below in the wide, gloomy, and unfathomable depths; such were the main features of man's idea of the universe. The countless multitude of the dead who were not reverenced as fathers, mothers, or patriarchal heads of individual houses, tribes, and nations, and who were not canonized by more definite marks and forms, were nevertheless by no means regarded as simply annihilated although they were buried, or by human art burned to ashes. The thought that the spiritual part of man is not annihilated by bodily death lay too deeply in the minds of the living for such an idea to arise. The hosts of the dead were reduced no doubt to shadowy forms, but they were still thought of as actually existing in the vast realms of an Underworld. All intuitions and conceptions resting upon this main thought left so deep an impress in the oldest times upon the Hebrew language that they were retained in it even after the true religion had become the best life of the community, although without receiving its express approval and consecration. This is seen in the names for the Underworld[1] itself, and for the

[1] The Hebrew כָּבוֹד, the δόξα.

[2] שְׁאֹל or שְׁאוֹל, the Semitic primitive word for the Underworld of the Dead, is

shadowy forms of the dead who people it.[1] Yet it is noticeable that in the prevalence and sway of the true religion, the later the age, the more such terms are withdrawn into the archaic language of poetry.

There was one phrase especially which in common life in the more elevated speech constantly kept its ground from those primitive ages downward, even to the time of the decay of the Hebrew tongue, and which in its import is sufficiently remarkable. As the connection of all the members of a house was in the primitive ages of the very closest kind, and tokens and usages of the common fathers were always fondly preserved; moreover, as so much importance was assigned to having a common sepulchre and observing the sacred customs of interment;[2] so the dead were thought of as resting in common in the wide fields of the Underworld in generations, nay even in tribes and nations when a wider survey was taken. "To be gathered to his people or race,"[3] or "to his fathers,"[4] was a standing expression for the death of the individual, transmitted from the primitive to the latest ages; although such ancient sacred expressions were in the course

found, apart from the poets, only in the older speech, at last in such discourse in 1 Kings ii. 6. The poets for this word, which has in Hebrew no longer a certain derivation, revive שַׁחַת, "corruption," and אֲבַדּוֹן.

[1] The ancient primitive word רְפָאִים for the εἴδωλα καμόντων of Homer is found in the Old Testament only in poetry, and among all Semitic languages has reappeared only in the Phœnician (Great Sidon. inscr. l. 8); concerning its derivation, cf. *History*, i. 227–8, n. [The "stretched out," *i.e.* the nerveless, prostrate dead.]

[2] The common faith of the ancients, that the spirits of those who died by violence, or were buried without solemn rites, were restless and impure, bespattered with blood, is alluded to in the Bible only in the dirge of Ezek. xxxii. 19 ff.

[3] This ancient phrase has been retained only in relation to the patriarchs, as also in relation to Moses and Aaron, by the Book of Origins, and the word עַמִּים has there this antique signification. *Antiquities*, 316, n.

[4] This somewhat new phrase, and the old one which it explains, gradually pass over into "sleep with his fathers;" yet the latter appears to be used in the old Book of Kings only of the kings of Israel up to Jehoiachin, 2 Kings xxiv. 6. How freely, on the contrary, the first Deuteronomist proceeded in his dealing with the history of the kings is evident from 2 Kings xxii. 10.

of long centuries more and more limited to the patriarchs, to kings, or to whole generations of the earlier ages.[1]

2. *The Egyptian and Israelite Idea of Immortality.*

§ 345. The elements of a higher culture were first found among the Egyptians. The form this culture assumed was original and peculiar, but it reached, nevertheless, though in somewhat perverse fashion, the highest point it was capable of attaining. Two fundamental conceptions, essentially foreign to ancient Egypt, became in the course of the religious development closely interwoven with it. One was the idea of the transmigration of souls; a conception which seems at first sight strongly to corroborate the important assurance that the spirit of man is not annihilated with the death of the body, and yet it introduces an arbitrary hypothesis, and becomes gradually productive of new and manifold errors. The other was the idea of a divine judgment after death, a judgment of all men, even of the mightiest kings, and based upon the quality of the conduct on earth considered as good or bad. This second conception would have been extremely fruitful had it been allied with the thought, as great in itself and far more effective, of a work of God advancing through all history in which man also participates. But it remained fragmentary and isolated. It could therefore raise to an unusual degree of strength man's fear of life's dark end, and of the subsequent divine judgment; but more than fear it could not produce. All insight into an eternal progress of the divine work in creation towards its ever higher perfection, and all idea of the participation of the individual man both before and after death in this progressive work, it was incapable of suggesting. Rather did the belief in the transmigration of souls interdict any other view than that of an eternal repetition and round of already familiar occurrences. These two fundamental thoughts blending together in all

[1] As in Judg. ii. 10; of whole nations in the dirge, Ezek. xxxii. 18–32.

their tenacity and with all their logical consequences, the whole religion of the Egyptians became transformed into a religion of the dead, such as nowhere else found so firm a settlement in all antiquity. Nevertheless there was something exceedingly attractive about it, for it not merely combined apparent simplicity with apparent exhaustiveness and depth, but it was elaborated and adorned by the charm of high art, and invested with a splendour that seduced the whole nation. Moreover, it threw its magic spell far and wide over the then existing world, and left behind among surrounding nations many relics of its glory, although fragmentary and heterogeneous in their character.

The people of Israel in the last centuries before Moses would be the more completely under the influence of this fascination the more they were exposed to the danger of amalgamation with the Egyptians. But through the light and power of true religion, the nation, under the leadership of Moses, secured its disenchantment from Egyptian superstition. Its contemplation of the things of death must therefore be now wholly different, and this difference became ultimately the more thorough and profound in proportion as the Egyptian religion was a religion of death.[1] The whole subsequent development through the four successive periods will show how true this is. Meanwhile opposition to everything Egyptian could express itself on this subject only by the full restoration and loyal maintenance of the simple form of belief in immortality as it existed in the patriarchal age. For the new creative power in religion, which took its rise

[1] ["Jahveism, with its living ardour, presented the direct opposite to the Egyptian religion, which, as easily happens in an over-civilised and effeminate people, busied itself only too much with things after death, and might as justly be termed the religion of death, as Jahveism the religion of life." . . . "As a strong man in the midst of the triumphant whirl of life and a multitude of remunerative labours becomes easily contented with the present, and reflects neither on the terrors of death nor the rewards of another life, so that ancient community, amid its new great truths, and the consequent inspiration of its victorious life, felt itself too preoccupied by the present and the tasks of the immediate future to be conscious of any strong necessity to look much beyond." —*History*, ii. 134.]

in the time of Moses, and afterwards affording no mere transient enlightenment and guidance to the new community, difficult though it was to establish it, but destined as highest truth and purest inspiration to lead the nation in its further progress, was in itself a creative power so sublime and elevating, that for many centuries it could adequately sustain and could always revive anew the entire spiritual endeavours of the nation, while the simple primitive belief in the truth and indestructibility of the Spirit continued to exist unobscured and unenfeebled beside it.

The only true God, designated Jahveh, is so emphatically the God of all light and life and the God of spirit that He can fill the individual man, and even an entire nation, with an infinite joy, and with the desire to serve Him alone, and to lose all self-will in His own will. And this joyful courage of the higher life, springing from the regeneration true religion gives, having inspired this nation as no other even before its redemption from Egypt, and having secured that redemption by a mighty effort, and transformed the nation into a new community under the law of God, went on growing in power during the centuries that succeeded, and notwithstanding many misfortunes and many a relapse, made its influence felt to the days of David and Solomon, and even beyond. Such joyful courage was now both the distinction and defence of Israel. Conscious of its own lofty inspiration, finding its true home with God and fatherland, and rejoicing in the vigour of all life, what had this nation to do with the religion of the languid and effeminate Egyptians who were bowed down in the midst of the strength of life by the fear of death, and anxious to protect themselves artificially against recalling the gloom and darkness of the grave?[1] But that it lost on this account its old simple ideas of the survival of the spirit

[1] ["Looking joyfully to a future which showed to him his house and race enjoying a more and more glorious development in the ever-advancing community of Jahveh," the Israelite "was naturally unburdened by any anxious outlook to the future and continued existence of his own soul," but desired "perpetuity and happiness only for the earthly fatherland."—*History*, ii. 133.]

after death, is contradicted by the plainest testimonies drawn from the fresh and vigorous life of those centuries as already shown.[1] Moreover, as soon as the wisdom of common life and the schools grew up independently in the nation, they discoursed of immortality in the midst of the mortality and transitoriness of man, and with peculiar fervency and creative power pursued the thought as it must further develop itself on the basis of the higher religion.[2]

§ 346. It should be remembered also that when, as here, righteousness is equivalent to immortality and immortality to righteousness, and when this is meant in the sense and drift of the true religion and its idea of righteousness, all that is highest and truest is already considered and taught that concerns immortality in the mortal and the necessary faith of man in it. He who seeks to live righteously must not only know the will of God to man as the law of his life; he must also, with all self-abnegation, and all sincere and zealous desire to discover that will more and more perfectly in every situation of life, act in conformity with it. He is then no longer a stranger to the life of God itself, but notwithstanding all his mortal feebleness and limitation participates in the enjoyment of the blessedness of the Eternal and Immortal, that in it alone he may abide beyond the range of all evil, and beyond the pain of bodily death. But to bear patiently and calmly in the conflict against unrighteousness the dread of a too early death, and the terrible weight of evil that may come upon the individual man, is just the one problem that

[1] § 344, p. 364 ff. In Ex. xx. 12 there is no denial of immortality and no exclusive appreciation of earthly good. Domestic piety and the happy condition of the family form the surest basis for the steady continuance and powerful development of the nation. The "thou" addressed is Israel as a whole as it was under Moses. In the days when decline and overthrow threatened the nation, the admonition is repeated in such expressions as Prov. xxxvii. 3, 9, 11, 22, 27, 34, 37, and in many others of similar import.

[2] Expressions like Prov. xii. 28, and all similar ones where *life* signifies what is equivalent to immortality, point to immortality in the sense of the genuine religion, as also do the images of the tree and fruit of life, and belong to the most energetic days in the existence of the old nation. This cannot, in its true significance, be made too conspicuous.

becomes more and more difficult to the whole human race in the progressive development of human affairs; and the solution of this problem must be attained with a completeness proportionate to the unavoidable necessity and increasing pressure with which the problem has to be faced. The more abundantly outward wealth and intellectual capabilities and enjoyments have been won by wise and persevering application and ceaseless labour on the part of men and nations, the more eager is the desire to appropriate such blessings even by violence and to the disadvantage of others; and the more complicated all human history becomes chiefly by this unrighteous impulse, and the resistance to it which is itself so often perverse and even sinful, the higher the difficulty will mount which stands in the way of a just and wise resistance. Moreover, should a nation decline from its earlier greatness into confusion and misery deepening into despair, the more must the individual man suffer in the midst of it should he seek to keep himself free from the corruption of his time.

Such an age came for Israel in the days succeeding Solomon. All the severest trials involved in the circumstances already described had to be encountered together. The hearts of men, and gradually of the whole community in both kingdoms, were more and more bowed down, but especially in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes. Struggling as it seemed to them with purest ardour in the cause of righteousness for home and country, harassed and hunted even to death by insolent foes, men in the vigour and prime of life, and especially the most devout of them, could not but break out in bitter complaint of the transitoriness of man upon earth, and pour forth in all innocence their lamentations before God, for the advancement of whose kingdom they so much desired still further to fight. Mingling with such complaints was the terrible thought of continued existence in the gloomy Underworld, an existence without the stir and interest of the earthly life, and without the opportunity of experiencing still the delight of God's goodness, and of

praising aloud His guiding grace before all the world. Pained at the prospect of approaching death, the tenderest and most pathetic feelings of the heart were expressed, and some of the songs that were sung in profound emotion have been preserved to this day in the Old Testament.[1] As they welled forth in reality from the depths of the faithful heart, throbbing with grief and yet filled with purest zeal for the kingdom of God, there is in them an undertone of confidence in the true God and His kingdom among men; and by this they are sharply distinguished from similar melancholy dirges of the ancient Greeks and other heathen. But the deficiency inherent in this kind of primitive faith in immortality clings to them, and expresses itself distinctly, and is all the more perceptible just because of the breath of the true and profounder religion that inspires them. The spiritual element in man, in the deepest sense the man himself, does not perish in death, but remains for ever rigid and inanimate, unillumined by the light, unmoved by the grace of the true God; such was now the prevailing average thought that had been formed out of the primitive belief; and all the time how easily dropped out of view the wholly different immortality of Enoch! Some remnant of life and feeling, it is true, must have been assigned to the shades of the Underworld, if they were to be anything other and better than ordinary corpses; but it seemed as if, shut out from the sunshine of the world above, they had no more to do with it and must bear for ever only the pain that survives.[2] What disconsolateness and despair might result from all this, when the living man, overwhelmed by a flood of undeserved sorrows and driven

[1] The simplest and oldest songs of this type are Ps. vi. xiii.; the profoundest and most touching, Ps. xxxix.; as later echoes of this time are B. Isa. xxxviii. 10–20; Ps. lxxxviii.; Bar. ii. 17. Only in the full consideration of what is said above can these songs be rightly estimated.

[2] Job xiv. 21, 22. "Are his sons honoured, he knoweth it not; unhonoured, he heedeth it not. Only his own body giveth him pain, his soul grieveth him." ["He knows nothing more of the things of the earth, joyous or sorrowful; . . . he simply endures his own physical and mental pain in desolate retirement." —Ewald's *Job*, 169.]

well-nigh to desperation by the buffetings of adverse circumstance of every kind, shuddered that he should not realize again in the present or the whole future the grace and the righteousness of the living God! The greatest poet of the Bible makes his lofty hero Job, in the days of his heavy sorrows, bitterly complain of this deeply-felt privation, and sink at length into a despondency by which it seems as if he must be wholly crushed. Nothing can be truer, more profoundly touching and even tragic than such representation.[1]

When, however, the whole of the ancient nation, bowed down under the weight of its increasingly prevailing sins, is borne along irrecoverably to its own destruction, then arises that grand church-song of profoundest lamentation and repentance, the like of which we look for elsewhere in vain;[2] and all its plaints are similarly eloquent sighs over the transitoriness of all human affairs.[3] With wonderful composure, it is true, it rises at the close to the thought of the eternal work of God with men, and especially with His people;[4] and thus to the only thought that can throw its light upon the dismal darkness. But that man and the nation itself can participate in this work, and find therein eternal hope and strength, is not yet touched upon, although we shall see that this thought alone can scatter all such despair.

3. *The Idea of Immortality transfigured.*

§ 347. Thus, then, did the belief in immortality hold its ground in the nation of Israel from the time of Moses until

[1] The complaints of Job (vii., x. 2–22, xiii. 25–xiv. 22) are the longest and most exhaustive outpourings of this mood of mind to be found in the Old Testament; and yet he receives no reproof from God on account of them at the close (xxxviii.–xlii.), and is not himself utterly annihilated by the fierce rage of burning indignation.

[2] Ps. xc. [3] Ps. xc. 7–12.

[4] Ps. xc. 16 f. ["In the endeavour after God, the Eternal, he may overcome the fleeting and transient, and in spite of its extremely short duration may live blessedly in Him. . . . He is already inwardly prepared for a new life in God." . . . "Here manifestly the one great divine deed is desired, the Messianic." —Ewald's *Psalms*, i. 209, 216.]

the age that succeeded the days of Solomon. But the mind wavered between the higher and the lower conception. In the school of wisdom was found an elevation more definite and pronounced to the bright and lofty heights of purer truths. In the every-day life of men despondency gained the upper hand and no consolation was realized. Essentially, however, the basis of the old primitive ideas was maintained. The best thought of the true religion working creatively in this community from the days of Moses was opposed, it is true, to everything Egyptian; but it was too much occupied with the true God Himself as the highest good of man, and with the observance of strict duties towards Him, to be able to throw much light upon the old darkness of the Underworld. But in the midst of the true religion, as it moved ever forward in this community with increasing fruitfulness, there had long lain the germs of the transfiguration and perfecting of the intuitions respecting this gloomiest realm of belief; and in the unfolding of those germs great progress was made in two primary directions during the last centuries of the independent existence of the ancient nation.

Within the community of the true religion it was now taught that man can attain immortality only in the way of righteousness, and that righteousness and immortality were alike divine blessings in which man can participate. When such general propositions are applied more particularly, it is seen to be a just inference that if the individual man does not grow weary of living in the divine righteousness, but knows fully and observes stedfastly all that is thereby involved in the way of duty, then as he already in the spirit lives in God, he shall live in Him for ever, for the Divine Spirit is eternal. Or this inference may be expressed by a short phrase of a later time, viz. that in death the body returns to the earth, but the spirit returns to God, to be glorified with Him for ever.[1] The ultimate issue of this supreme event, the subsequent development of the whole

[1] Eccles. xii. 7, cf. iii. 21, and what is said in explanation below.

belief in immortality will show more definitely; yet already the first chief part of this inference from the premises is of the highest significance.

But of what service is a mere possible and correct inference in thought, if it remains only in the pure realm of thought? In the true religion, as elsewhere, so most of all in this remote and obscure field, everything depends at last upon full living acquaintance with truth, and its experience and verification in one's own life. Now the possibility of this was fully given in the ancient community by the consistent and proper working to their true issue of all those higher forces which were active in it. For when a devout man in this community, amid all the heavy sorrows of the time, as death drew nigh, directed the glance in unswerving loyalty towards the true God and His help, vividly conscious of all that appeared discomforting and even dreadful in the old conceptions of death and the Underworld, and as vividly realizing that for this life at least he must renounce all hope of seeing righteousness victorious and securing the outward help of God; what remained to him in the struggles of his eager quest and effort, if he refused to despair of the progress of divine righteousness and of the attitude of his own spirit to that righteousness, but to cherish the thought that somehow after the death of the body the soul would rejoice in beholding that righteousness divinely successful and triumphant? Only some such thought flashing in upon the mind would give back to him his higher calmness in the presence of death, and overcome all fear of death and all despondency concerning the affairs of his time; whilst from this darkest side the truth of God arose in a wholly new light before him, and at last the human spirit also found itself again in its whole truth and power as it might have been conscious of itself from the beginning of all creation. — That belief in such immortality which for distinction's sake may be designated "transfigured" immortality, did actually spring up in this way in those days, and was ever afterward a blessing of the

highest significance in the community, not again to be lost, is attested by most certain evidence in the Old Testament.

1. The most important and instructive evidence is found in the great poem of the Book of Job. The author depicts the most painful feelings, but presents also the sublimest truth, by both of which he was manifestly himself most deeply moved; and the plan of the poem is so grandly and artistically completed, that one sees in it very clearly all the grounds that must conduce to the realization and favour the conviction of the eternal truth of this transfigured faith. This is indeed a chief excellence and main element of incomparable worth in the poem itself, an element only, but important and necessary in its place in relation to the whole divinely-human transaction here represented. Very striking is it, too, that since he does not lose his presence of mind in his controversy with his friends, the ancient hero Job, in proportion to the vehemence of the controversy continued through all its possible stages and even with sharpest contradiction and increasing attempts to obscure the truth then in question, is led the more necessarily to the remoter and new truth not yet realized by man. But he comes nearer and nearer to it by successive steps, and at last at the fitting moment it strikes him as a sudden vivid flash of light, and at once in a moment changes his whole position in his contest with his friends. Embarrassed by the old and less worthy belief concerning things after death, having complained and contended before God and men in vain, and been driven to the very verge of utter despair, at the close of his long and fully detailed reply, as he looks round for help on all sides without success, he is surprised by the thought whether after all man shall never awake again from the dead, and in the consciousness of innocence rejoice in God as the avenger of innocence, nay find in Him with infinite rapture ultimate rest and blessedness?[1] But in the fresh influx of other thoughts, this sudden thought, that comes like a lightning flash, passes

[1] Job xiv. 12–15.

away again without producing any deeper or abiding effect. On the following day, as new and extreme pain threatens him, and death seems inevitably approaching, he is surprised by the thought of the avenging of blood which is closely allied in itself with the ideas of divine righteousness and immortality, and he invokes this avenge of heaven, as one might invoke it who being innocent is about to be put to death with fearful violence.[1] But this vehement outbreak of righteous indignation helps him no more than did the questioning the previous day as to a possible reawakening from death; other and more powerful thoughts again overmaster him. Nevertheless, in point of fact he is thus brought as near as possible to the peace-giving truth. In the subsequent discourse, having made a last and supreme but still futile attempt to move in the old groove of troubled thoughts, after a pause, recollecting himself, at length the only right thought overpowers him, viz. that without doubt certainly he shall see God after death as his Redeemer; and it overpowers him so completely and fills him with a joy so purely divine and a holy courage so unanticipated, that he becomes henceforth from that moment another man.[2] This is Job's regeneration. Here at last is the highest certainty and the highest rapture. Now he stands firmly and in good heart, in wholly other fashion than before, notwithstanding severer trials yet to follow; albeit so long as the great enigma of his sufferings still presses like a burden upon him, for a moment with discomfort the thought of the nearness of death again passes across his mind.[3]

2. What appears in Job, depicted in its living growth and divine necessity, we see shining forth, about the same period,

[1] Job xvi. 18–21.

[2] Job xix. 25–29. These clear gleaming stars in the centre of this book, after long and patient labour to understand the whole drift of this poem, and especially of this part of it, may, it is to be hoped, no longer be mistaken. It is in vain that scholars in Germany since Eichhorn have misinterpreted Job's words, and refused to find anywhere in the Old Testament the belief in immortality till we come to the Book of Daniel. The correct view has now sufficiently been established. Cf. *Commentary on Job*, pp. 208 f.

[3] xxx. 23.

in short songs and passionate or peaceful outpourings of the same mood, as firmly settled intuition and hope, but always in such wise that this outlook into eternity stills all unrest in the soul of the poet, and makes him forget all the storms of the world.[1] It is not to be maintained that these songs, therefore, borrowed their new main thoughts from the Book of Job. The complexion of the discourse is almost wholly different, and it is rather the ancient hallowed tradition of the translation of Enoch to heaven that is present to the mind as a luminous image of this divine glorification.[2] But the old horror of death has here altogether vanished. If in the higher discourse by the "land of life," or rather "the land of the living,"[3] in opposition to the Underworld, was formerly understood the sunny surface of the earth, and the man was counted happy whom God "caused to stand before Himself,"[4] in a long and blessed life, that he might rejoice in Him upon the earth, and consequently in the sacred land or under the shadow of the temple; so now living men themselves are divided into "men of the world" who seek only worldly joy and satisfaction, and such as seek God above all.[5] Or if in former times, according to the ancient conception, "to behold the countenance of God" designated a moment of surprise for mortal man, and the radiant illumination of the highest divine grace and ecstasy in the midst of the affairs of this

[1] Ps. xvii. 15, xvi. 9–11, xlix. 15. Cf. *Commentary on Psalms*, ii. 10, 16, 18.

[2] The words in Ps. lxxiii. 24*b* are manifestly only an amplification of Gen. v. 24*b*. Probably also in Ps. xlix. 15*b* one or two words may have fallen out, for the text is very corrupt, so that the two lines should read:—

Yet God will redeem my soul from the power of death,
Yea, receive me into His glory.

[3] This expression, "the land of the living," appears in Hezekiah's song, B. of Isa. xxxviii. 11, evidently in its original sense, for in the second member "the citizens of the midworld" corresponds to it; elsewhere, Ps. xxvii. 13, lii. 5, cxlii. 5; Job xxviii. 13; B. of Isa. liii. 8; Jer. xi. 19; Ezek. xxvi. 20, xxxii. 24-32. The list shows how long the expression continued on the lips of poets and authors.

[4] As in Ps. xli. 12; and the opposite, Ps. lii. 5; Isa. xxii. 17 f.

[5] As is clear from the new employment of words, Ps. xvii. 4, 14; Job xxi. 33, xxxi. 33; and other indications.

earthly life,[1] it becomes now rather an image of eternal transfiguration before God, and the full satisfaction of all yearning after Him.[2]

3. But the most glorious expression of this new intuition in the Old Testament is in the seventy-third Psalm. A devout singer pictures the whole distraction, error, and despondency with respect to the course of the world, in which for a long time his mind wandered ill at ease till he entered into the true sanctuary of God or innermost secret of His purpose, where at last he could the more exclusively and fervently rejoice in the rapture that outlasts death itself, and exult in the indestructible hope of his heart as he found himself and his spirit for ever with God.[3] Nothing can be more glorious and happier than this presentiment of eternal blessedness following such misery and unrest; nothing more radiant and confident than this outlook compassing in faith all eternity. If the verses that describe this glance into eternity at the close are briefer than those that set forth the long aberration of mind, they are so much the more fervent and inspiring.

But what the faith of the living man so zealously seeks and so warmly desires, there will be a passionate longing to see verified by some conspicuous example. It is a true indication of the purely creative activity of the prophetic spirit that it did not, as was the case subsequently, go back to the primitive ages and revive the image of Enoch; but it ventured to portray, to the extent the feeling of the true religion allowed, such a translation into heaven, by a much more vivid and historical example, in the departure from life of Elijah, the greatest prophet of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes;[4] and apart from the attempts in later days, before the Christian era,

[1] In passages like Ps. xi. 7, iv. 6; according to Num. vi. 25 f.; and the traditions of the primitive ages, such as Gen. xvi. 13; Ex. xxiv. 11.

[2] In the passages Ps. xvii. 15; Job xix. 26 f.; repeated in Matt. v. 8; Rev. xxii. 4.

[3] Ps. lxxiii. 23–26, cf. ver. 1.

[4] ["An earthly career which had no equal in the purity of its devotion to the service of Jahveh, and was at the same time consummated by such powerful efforts to promote the kingdom of God, can only have a corresponding close. It

to depict anew the ascension of Enoch and Moses, this remained the sole symbol and type of glorification in the Old Testament.[1] In new and short phrases, however, the idea of the soul dwelling in the body of the living man as in a structure or shell that may easily be abandoned, gradually finds expression that increases in vigour;[2] and the wandering of the patriarchs, spoken of in sacred history, passes over into the idea, taken of course wholly spiritually, of emblematic transitory wandering upon earth towards eternal life.[3]

§ 348. Thus by such indications found in the Old Testament there is clear evidence of the rise and of the high significance also of this transfigured faith in immortality. Nevertheless the belief is not as yet common property, the whole great nation does not share it; only in some isolated cases does it make its way with its full, clear radiance and power, and it has to confront, under the championship of its apostles, a whole unbelieving world. But just this invests it with a youthful fascination, and gives to it sublime energy and abiding instructiveness. Nor is anything about it more manifest than that precisely as it must develop itself after the time of Moses, so it did develop itself, germinating and growing up on the soil of the ancient true religion. Only here, and in a way hitherto unknown to all mankind, did a belief in immortality tend to become powerful.[4] But at first it was confined simply to individuals.

ceases before the very eyes of men only to be taken up into the realm of pure spirit, that is to heaven, there to carry on its work with less disturbance and with greater power; and at that moment heaven itself descends to earth to take to itself that spirit which is already entirely its own."—*History*, iv. 109 f.]

[1] Cf. *History*, v. 345 ff., vi. 55 ff.

[2] Cf. the image of the unsheathing of the butterfly or locust in Eccles. xii. 5; or that of the tent, 2 Cor. v. 1–4; 2 Pet. i. 13 f. [Ewald translates Eccles. xii. 5, "And . . . the locust raises itself and the caper breaks," and explains: "When the locust uplifts itself to fly, having broken and cast off its old shell (cf. Nah. iii. 15 f., where the word for locust seems to mean the locust in its period of transformation), and when the caper breaks (which fruit it is well known suddenly springs forth from its capsule breaking through its shell, therefore as the foregoing an image of dissolution)."—*Salom. Schriften*, p. 325 f.]

[3] Heb. xi. 13; cf. Ps. xxxix. 12.

[4] It is groundless and altogether against the evidence of the Old Testamen

It happened, however, about that time that the nation, in its unceasing struggle for the solution of all questions of the true religion, was profoundly stirred in spirit from a variety of causes and in many and unusual directions. There now came into view from another and different quarter, a great fundamental thought which had long developed itself in isolation, and which, though apparently unrelated to the idea of immortality in mortal man, was nevertheless not at all foreign to it, and was gradually more and more inseparably interwoven with it, exercising upon it ultimately the most powerful influence. This was the thought of the Messiah and His kingdom. For just in those days the desire and confident expectation of His coming and rule formed the inner strength and the best life of the declining nation. From the first, indeed, the thought of a great redeemer and deliverer one day to go forth out of this community and a particular family of it, has its true import and authorization only as there is in this community and this special house of it something immortal, which, because it has in the Spirit of God and the working of that Spirit continuously in the world, an eternal significance and power, cannot be annihilated by all the misfortunes and changes of time, but waxes stronger by means of resistance so as to reach at length its ultimate aim, according to the law of all divine progress in the world. But this immortal element in Israel was then clearly known already, and was always distinctly recognised and confidently announced by the greatest prophets; and the entire Messianic anticipation, the more glorious it became and the more stedfastly it was grasped by faith, in so far is the more necessarily connected in general with this question. For the Messiah was not thought of by the great prophets, whose faith was more and more that of all devout men in the nation, as an ordinary king who would merely win conquests and restore the old

to suppose that the idea of immortality entered into Israel from without, and at a very late period of its history. The Old Testament is not really understood where such a view is held.

national power. He was conceived, as was fitting in this community, as the King in whom the whole strength and glory of the true religion would first concentrate itself, as in its compact kernel, in order through Him to become the peaceful possession and the means of glorious transformation of all Israel, and ultimately through Israel of all the nations of the earth. In so far, then, as the loftier conception was cherished, the certainty of the continuous working of all that was divinely immortal in this era of the world, conditioned by man, and the certainty of a final illustrious issue, as of all that is human, so of the present world itself, must be connected more and more indissolubly with the Messiah Himself and with the firm belief in His coming. The Messanic hope was thus the mightiest stay of confidence in the progress of the great divine work in the world and its ultimate consummation, —a progress that was felt to be fully assured, notwithstanding all appearance to the contrary, and notwithstanding all disturbances ; and of confidence also in such special and subordinate questions as the immortality and eternal resurrection, as well as the higher continuance, of the whole of that human work wherein the Divine Spirit has once been active and which has thereby become immortal. Thus, then, the idea of immortality passes over as a whole and in particular, generally and especially, into the idea of the glorious resurrection of the outward body, depriving death itself of its gloomy horror. This is just that glance into the whole future of man which makes Hosea cry out, " Where are thy plagues, O Death ? where is thy sting, O Sheol ! "[1] and in which a subsequent prophet, before the destruction of Jerusalem, beholds Death for ever annihilated by God Himself, all tears of innocence for ever cease, and all human wrong find its end.[2]

It is especially worthy of remark that this mighty advance of all thought, expectation, and endeavour in human affairs,

[1] Hos. xiii. 14, cf. xi. 8–11.

[2] B. Isa. xxv. 8, repeated Rev. xxi. 4, and in part vii. 17. The period of time from which these words come is explained in the *Prophets*, v. 23. By way of supplement, I remark that xxvii. 10 f., as also 9, 12 f., may be repeated

which alone could carry forward the old true religion to its consummation, and which at last found in such consummation the end and realization of all faith, starts from the one simple hope in the Messiah. But in the development of humanly-divine things it is always so. Everything proceeds from what is simple and particular at first, if only this itself originates from the purest power of the Divine in man, and historically has the right significance and tendency toward what is universal. The hope of the Messiah, however, sprang forth from the profoundest divine aspiration of the old community in the height of its earthly history, and sprang forth in such a way that the spiritual life of the community could be preserved and could continue to unfold itself for the spiritual well-being of all the rest of mankind, only by means of such hope. Thus early in the outward body of the nation of the old true religion, growing for a thousand years, for a thousand years declining towards dissolution, does the winged papilio begin to prepare itself, which as the herald of a glorious immortality is yet to break from its chrysalis and soar into the world. Nor can it in the least be regarded as a fortunate accident that just at the same time, from a wholly different quarter, viz. the spiritual conflict of the individual man with the existing evils of the world, the thought of this glorious immortality was awakened and became victorious in this community in the way that has just been described.[1] Very diverse and lying apart from each other were these two sources of kindred thought. There, the spirit of man is called into activity by stern conflict with the immediate and pressing ills of life; here, by its survey of all that is worldly and divine, and by the longing seer-like glance into all the future of the world; there, the inner certainty was won which, here, in inspired outlook into the whole future of the world pursues

by the last editor from a writing of Isaiah's; the ring of the words is altogether the same as xxxii. 10–14, xxx. 9, 19, ix. 16, v. 7; and the "strong city," 10, may in the sense of Isaiah himself be Jerusalem. Perhaps, however, xxv. 6–8, 10 f., are from the eighth century and by Isaiah himself.

[1] § 347. 1, p. 379.

the images of its own desire, and sees more and more surely realized the single objects of its faith. And as all truth must first be inwardly won by men in order that in its light the world may be known, and to its ideal the world may be transformed; so must that glorious immortality first be experienced and won by the individual man in his own conflict with the world before it can throw its images of thought far and wide into the whole sphere of man's yearning and anticipation. The Book of Job shows us still how this truth can first be won for himself in conflict by the individual man, and then as the unanticipated, but, once opened, inexhaustible source of his true salvation can be firmly grasped in faith. But only when this faith does not remain the painfully won property of private individuals, but, strengthened and transfigured by the sure outlook into the eternal work of God in the world and the ultimate destiny of the whole human race, has secured its full contents and its mightier power of inspiration; when, moreover, as thus developed more richly and definitely, it has obtained at last distinct significance and necessity for all men equally everywhere without exception; —only then is it for all humanity altogether what it is destined to be.

§ 349. From this whole presentation is readily understood that the two well-springs of faith in immortality, even in the nation in whose sacred community each flowed forth in purest original power, could only in the course of time unite their waters into one current and form that mighty stream which subsequently may be traced in the light of history. Yet such union must have taken place in the last two centuries before the first destruction of Jerusalem; and it might easily be shown to have been the case if we had before us the full evidence all the writings that then appeared would afford, the number of which we can very plainly discover was unusually large. As it is, we are limited to a few scattered traces of such event; yet even these are amply sufficient if carefully observed and rightly estimated as a whole.

In the outset it is very evident that if the unclouded hope and consolation of all the faithful were to be contemplated more closely, and presented in distinct outlines from the point of view of transfigured immortality, and at the same time from that of the certainty of a last humanly-divine consummation of the whole system of things based on the future issue of the whole existing world, there might thus be a manifold fulness of pure truths of the genuine religion woven together in all brevity;[1] but the bond and connection of the whole, a new vivid view of the great event itself must give. The creative power of the imagination, sustained and guided, and especially quickened and made fruitful by all the chief truths of the genuine religion, must thus have had the amplest sphere and the freest play for its activity and skill; and every part of creation, great or small, must have furnished suggestive imagery[2] and become as a medallion for such as desired to turn the eye of the mind to that which yet no mortal eye has actually seen. In other words, all creation must have afforded an "unveiling"[3] of things which the divine mystery of the whole future hides from the common view, and which in reality go back to that eternal mystery of the divine order of the world, a mystery which in all that has happened hitherto man may no doubt see unveiling itself, although not unveiling itself in such a way that the goal of this order from the beginning of creation onward, or to the last conceivable issue, is in point of fact disclosed. The old prophecy in Israel more and more took the form of such unveilings or Apocalypses with their artistic descriptions, as the question of the ultimate end of all things human became gradually urgent, and as the community itself, advancing to its outward destruction, felt, whether distinctly or dimly, that only in its spiritual substance could

[1] As the Apocalypse of the New Testament contains many magnificent utterances and suggestions of this kind.

[2] Or "phantasy," not to take the word here in its bad sense.

[3] On this account such compositions are best designated "Apocalypses," and distinguished from simple prophecies.

it continue to live. The oldest composition of this sort that has been preserved to us in its entirety, Ezekiel has appended to his prophecies.[1] But it does not follow that other examples of such compositions, fuller in detail even and much read in their time, had not preceded it. On the contrary, it appears unquestionable that they had, as will be seen by a close examination of the particular objects to which, from the two established points of view previously mentioned, the vision of seers was principally directed, and by a careful collection of all the scattered remnants of such later prophetic writings that from other causes became more and more artificial. If, however, regard is paid to the contents of the pure thoughts that in representations increasing in definiteness and images tending to grow more vivid in colour seek their realization in the future, with tolerable completeness may be traced how, among the earliest prophets whose writings have been preserved, those contents are sketched in simple sentences, in brief suggestions, and in creative rudimentary form; and just this on account of its importance must here be noted. But the entire range and fulness of all these briefly sketched or more fully detailed intuitions and anticipations, is, it is true, unusually ample, and their variety so extensive, that to present them all in one comprehensive summary seems exceedingly difficult. Nevertheless, upon closer view everything is ultimately reducible to the following three main positions:—

1. First of all is to be noticed the firm confidence, sustained by inward joy and divine serenity, with which these prophets looked onward to a sure consummation of all humanly-divine affairs, and the luminous distinctness in which they conceived it. If the last aim of the creation of man is that the whole human race should learn through the creation to recognise more and more fully the glory of the Creator, and do His will with increasing fidelity, in order to work together with Him towards a still more perfect era of the world, and at

[1] Ezek. xxxvii.–xxxviii.; and then further in another aspect, xl.–xlviii.

last to enter upon such era in a new and transfigured creation; then the firm boundary of the present period of the world becomes settled, and on this side of it everything is distinct to man's active spirit, and beyond it on the other his hoping and immortal spirit still sweeps. And if only one form appears as the inner spring of activity and the purest model of the perfect humanly-divine life of mankind, viz. the Messiah, as these prophets foreshadowed Him, then with Him is found the full commencement of this consummation according to the will of the Creator. Moreover, if this consummation is described, in the vision of the seer, as the illumination of the world by a light such as never yet has shone,[1] or, briefly and concisely, as a new heaven and a new earth,[2] or, in a less number of instances, as a renewing of the earth similar to that which followed the great Deluge;[3] it is very evident from all this how the inspired glance struggles to depict somewhat in detail what nevertheless as an actual phenomenon transcends all images borrowed from existing experience; and it is certain, besides, that to the present period of the world another will succeed. But those intuitions which picture what the transfigured humanity must be in its spirit, are the more closely connected with immediate reality and all precedent experience. The knowledge of God will then as in thick-coming waves of the sea stream over the whole earth; men will no longer, as now, painfully and amid a thousand errors, seek to know God in order to do His will; they will know how to do it constantly, freely, and surely, and their conduct will become incomparably more noble; such characteristic is of striking and eloquent significance.[4] As also in place

[1] As Isa. iv. 5 f., xxx. 26, B. Isa. xxiv. 23, lx. 1 ff.; subsequently repeated, Rev. xxi. 11, 23-25, xxii. 5; from which is seen how much this image prevails in the Apocalypse from the beginning of the whole description to the close.

[2] B. Isa. lxv. 17, lxvi. 21; repeated Rev. xxi. 1, 2, 5; 2 Pet. iii. 7, 13.

[3] B. Isa. liv. 9 f.

[4] Joel iii.; Isa. xi. 9 f.; Jer. xxxi. 31-34; and further, B. Isa. liv. 13; but the finest illustration is afforded by Isa. xxx. 21.

of the cruel wars hitherto prevailing, a divine peace is established among mankind, of which scarcely even a foretaste has yet been realized in any single period of history,—and great stress is laid upon this second characteristic;[1]—so from man, as the crown and goal of the existing creation, himself now made glorious, a higher glory shall be transfused over all the rest of the world that stands in such close relation with him; this is a further intuition which the glance of the seer seeks to portray as clearly as possible in many and various images.[2] And if such anticipations, in proportion as they are just inner certainties which irresistibly break forth from the prophet's mind, demand a last confirmation, Isaiah gives it when he points at the close to nothing less than "the zeal of Jahveh" that will "do this,"[3] *i.e.* the zeal of the Creator who cannot leave His work imperfect notwithstanding all hindrances and disturbances that oppose it. Similarly the great unnamed prophet emphatically shows that such truths as at first glance appear impracticable to the meagre and indolent sense of man, can never disappoint our hope when they have their real foundation in God Himself as Creator; so that if their light has arisen upon man, he may contemplate them as activities of that Logos who is never sent into the world in vain.[4]

It is not surprising that the prophets fixed the eye especially upon Israel as the earthly seat of the consummation of the divine salvation, and that the glance of Joel or Isaiah, for

[1] Isa. ii. 2–4 (Micah iv. 1–4) according to Joel; and Isa. ix. 5. Moreover, all the utterances give the very finest illustration of the then undisturbed rule of "righteousness," as Isa. xxxii. 15–20; Jer. iii. 14–17, xxiii. 5 f., xxxiii. 14–16; Ezek. xxxiv. 20–25.

[2] Whilst other prophets, like Amos ix. 13–15, express this in a rather simple and antique way, there follow later such transfigured picturings as Hos. ii. 20, 23 f., Isa. iv. 2, xi. 6–8, Zech. vi. 12, which are to be taken, in the whole connection in which they stand, in accordance with the intuitions of the prophet.

[3] Isa. ix. 7, the last sentence extremely concise and brief as a true final argument of decisive weight.

[4] B. Isa. lv. 9–11, cf. xl. 8. Cf. also § 252, p. 139 ff.

example, rested upon the "hill of Zion,"[1] whose sanctity had long been acknowledged; too deeply were they conscious that the consummation must proceed from this community. But all the better prophets saw also that the rest of the nations would participate ultimately in this consummation, and believed that the true religion possessed sufficient power and attractiveness to convert them.[2] Very appropriately and finely does Isaiah express this conversion of the nations with a glance as wide-sweeping as it is sublime;[3] and it is he also who, with infinite sadness, speaks of the heavy veil of mourning that now lies outspread upon the troubled nations, profoundly unhappy in their profound errors, and who, with a consolation just as great, sees how Jahveh, removing this veil from their eyes, cheers and enlightens them, and will gather them around the sacred Hill for their eternal refreshing as in a day of solemn thank-offering and praise.[4]

§ 350. 2. But whilst the vision of the great prophets thus with infinite ecstasy beheld the extremest limit of the whole future conceivable by man, in which everything was bathed for the moment in a sea of bliss, they were yet fully conscious how far this distant prospect stood from the present-day reality, and how much must happen before such a blessed condition of things should come and stay. So the eye turns back at length to the immediate affairs of to-day and rests in the contemplation of them with briefer or more extended

[1] Joel iii. 5 ff.; Isa. ii. 2 ff., iv. 5 f., xxix. 1–8, xxxi. 4 f., x. 32, xi. 9, xviii. 7, xxv. 10. Similarly, Jer. iii. 17; B. Zech. xiv.

[2] As Joel, in the sublime image preserved in Isa. ii. 2–4; Micah iv. 1–4; then Isaiah, in the lofty utterances, xi. 10, xviii. 7, xix. 18–25; the unnamed prophet, B. Zech. ix. 10 f., and Micah v. 3; with which in a freer form such hopes as Ps. lxxvi. 10 f. agree; yet these hopes are at length more and more surely and briefly conceived in B. Zech. xiv. 9; and then by the great unnamed prophet taken up again in a wholly new fashion, B. Isa. xlii. 1–4, xlv. 22–24, lx. 2 ff.

[3] Isaiah, indeed, sketches the stages of the conversion of the heathen in xix. 18–25; and in this whole discourse also, strictly speaking (xix.), which may very well be designated the dying swan-like song of the aged prophet.

[4] B. Isa. xxv. 6–8.

discourse.[1] It is here the somewhat later prophets pass over into that species of "Apocalypse," spoken of above, in order to describe more particularly how events must shape themselves in all definiteness, and unfold in due succession in the future, if the true salvation is to come and to endure.[2] For the eye of the genuine prophet seeks above all to ascertain in what way and by what progressive stages this divine salvation, sure, final, and abiding as it is, can actually come to them; and nothing is more remarkable and instructive than to note how each starts from the special situation of his time, recognising fully with appropriate and penetrating glance the real evils and profound imperfections of the age, frankly stating such evils and imperfections, and showing that only by honest and thorough reform can the stedfast hope of the faithful be realized. Just in this way may the greatness and glory of these prophets be surely seen and estimated in their eternal worth. Unsubdued by the most alluring temptations and the heaviest disappointments of the time, always fresh, always unwearied and strong in faith, equipped with the most perfect knowledge of the condition of things at home no less than in foreign lands, constantly mindful of the sublime Past of the community, and its treasure of divine truths and forces that could never again be lost, these prophets peer into all the future, distinguishing carefully and characterizing clearly all the stages of new aspiration and effort after better things which must first be traversed before the desired and final great salvation could come.[3] And the oldest prophets had long since been conscious of the enormous errors and the new difficulties whose mighty power the community, in the degenerate times that succeeded David and

[1] The sense of the conclusion of Isaiah's great discourse, xi. 10–16, is here considered, and the still briefer final word, ix. 6, xxxii. 20.

[2] The mode of presentation may be very different; longer descriptive discourse, as Ezek. xxxvii.–xxxix., and xl.–xlviii., or a closing lyric like B. Isa. lx.

[3] It is seen, for example, how well Micah, iv. 6–v. 2, by the figure given, 1–4, of the highest blessedness, retrogressively distinguishes the stages of the development of the future.

Solomon, has first to overcome step by step, before the great advance to the last salvation is possible; so distinctly conscious of this, indeed, that they were accustomed to characterize the age of the triumphant consummation, in sharpest contrast to the present and to the immediate future, as "the end of the days," or, according to the standing expression, "that day."[1]

But if these men of the Spirit of God looked thus deeply into the wild turmoil of things that lay before them, into the increasing confusion of those degenerate times, into the whole spiritual torpidity and obduracy of men in all circles with their inveterate errors and shameful sins, but especially at the growing and gigantic audacity and eagerness for destruction that drove the new grand empires of the heathen nations blindly into collision with the community of the true religion; the same prophetic glance which disclosed to them the whole blessedness of the final consummation, disclosed also just as surely that without the most severe conflict of hostile forces, and without an absolute separation of tendencies now become irreconcilable, this great salvation could not come; nay more, that the one conflict of the world, long since begun, would culminate to its supreme issue ere the great and final decision should ensue. As now the nation that must naturally form the central point of this mighty conflict of the world had already in the struggles of its earlier history experienced wonderful deliverances by the power of its God through faith, and preserved in living freshness the remembrance of these grand old victories divinely won, whilst to many of feebler faith their repetition in these times of depression seemed impossible;[2] the day of this great decision, beheld and announced by the prophets, might well be regarded as a still greater "day of Jahveh," when, as the one last Judge of mankind, He would appear and vouchsafe victory to His own. This day of Jahveh thus becomes in all expectation

[1] The origin of this term may be clearly seen from Joel iv. 1, 18, cf. iii. 1–5 [iii. 1, 18, cf. ii. 28–32]; Isa. ii. 12 ff.

[2] According to Amos v. 18, Isa. v. 19, and other indications.

and hope the boundary-line of the future to these prophets, the oldest of whom could not make it prominent enough as a day surely coming;[1] and it is from the idea of it that the abbreviated reference to "that day" above mentioned is taken. So far as this day is now the great last judgment-day of Jahveh which threatens all men with equal severity, including those who in the nation of Israel could not but feel themselves guilty before God, it was thought of as the darkest and sternest day that could possibly come upon the whole earth.[2] As the ancients paid much attention to visible prognostications and signs of the invisible and mysterious in human destiny, its approach was described as heralded by the gloomiest and most terrible portents.[3] But just on this account the expression, "the end of the days," denoted at first rather the age of the world's glory that should emerge from the general judgment, as the last age conceivable;[4] subsequently it received a much wider signification.[5]

So long as this nation was still a truly warlike nation (and its military strength was first severely shaken under King Manasseh), the distinct marks of this characteristic were impressed upon the kind of language employed by its great prophets and poets. Discoursing of foreign nations, as they look into the future, or indeed surveying the great decisive conflict between the kingdom and nation of the true God and the many foreign nations, especially the more powerful or heathen nations dominating the whole existing world, their

[1] As is seen from the oldest of the larger writings now extant, Joel i. 15, ii. 1, 11; then from the Book of Amos and the oldest discourse of Isa. ii. 12 ff.; Obad. 15; Hosea uses the term only in his oldest prophecy, and then frequently i. and ii.

[2] According to Joel ii. 1 f., 11; Amos v. 18–20.

[3] Joel, indeed, the oldest prophet known to us as an author, pictures these portents in their whole fearfulness; first, as the day of Jahveh is merely threatened by such signs; which at length, however, are graciously averted, i. f.; then, on the actual coming of the day, quite differently, iii. 3–5 (ii. 30–32); and similar picturings are repeated the more distinctly the destruction of this world is thought of along with the "end of things."

[4] As is evident from Isa. ii. 2; Micah iv. 1; Hos. iii. 5.

[5] As already the change that has entered into the words of Joel iii. 1 (ii. 28), on their repetition in Acts ii. 17, attests.

language becomes elevated by warlike images of every type, the stream of discourse swells with them in superabundance the more, first the kingdom of the Ten Tribes and then the kingdom of Judah became deeply involved in a death-struggle with the mightiest empires of the world. There is no need to be offended to-day at images of the future breathing martial ardour and the stern alarms of war; they only show the position this nation then occupied towards the old and new kingdoms of heathen nations in the conflict for the true religion, and in the confident hope of the consummation of the kingdom of God in its midst.[1] But with Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and their contemporaries, as well as with later writers, a perceptible change occurs in this respect; and although in the Apocalypse of the New Testament, with its warlike age, warlike images reappear, they return only in accordance with the precedent of those older prophets.—But however many and vigorous may be the martial images which the glance of the older prophets towards the last decisive conflict calls forth, they are far from supposing that the judgment of the day of Jahveh will affect the heathen only. On the contrary, to the mind of the oldest of these prophets it is something long since clear and certain, that only such members of the community as preserve their fidelity in all the pressure and straits of the last crisis, nay more, only such as God Himself calls to salvation, shall enter into its perfect rest and blessedness.[2] Grasping this main thought with the fullest distinctness, viz. that only a "remnant" of the community, tried by the direst distress and the fire of all temptation, shall be preserved as its indestructible and immortal kernel, for eternal salvation, and shall form the beginning of the new and glorious world;[3] interweaving with such thought very

[1] Yet this imagery always has a different complexion in one prophet from that which it has in another; the most vigorous is in B. Zech. ix. 13-16.

[2] Joel iii. 5 (ii. 32), where the concluding words referring to those "called of God" definitely limit, by a striking play on the term, the previous words relating to "those who call upon God."

[3] Isaiah, in his reference to the "remnant" of those who are to be saved, no

closely the certain appearing of the Messiah,[1] Isaiah gives completeness to the profoundest anticipation, and opens the most direct and above all the surest way to its proper realization. Only the truly "holy," only the "elect," shall enter into the last and eternal blessedness; such was now the burden of prophecy in the old community to the end; and until Christianity arose out of its midst, only thus was a perpetual progress to the consummation of the work of God in the world possible.[2]

The Messiah Himself, however, the vision of these sublime prophets does not discover in this warlike tumult of the day of Jahveh;[3] to them He stands far too high for this, and they seem to have no desire thus to behold Him. But the prince of the prophets sees him indeed as "the wonderful Counsellor, Hero-God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace;"[4] and how extremely important the last of these four attributes is, contemporary prophets clearly attest when they make peace and the salvation that is won only by righteousness and victorious courage the most marked feature of His rule.[5] In the course of the following centuries, however, when all these conceptions and anticipations had become much further developed, we find, in the Book of Daniel, the dominion of the new and imperishable world given over after the last judgment to the Messiah, just as according to the deepest sense of an Isaiah would be surmised.[6] But the oldest of these books, subsequently incorporated in the Book of Enoch, designates

doubt follows the utterances of Joel and other older prophets; but he first lifts up the thought to the position of one of the irrefragable corner-stones of all anticipation and hope, and he reverts to it again and again, and expresses it according to his manner and his special art, in short set names and ideas.

[1] How, is explained in the *Prophets*, ii. 76–111.

[2] From Joel iv. 17 (iii. 17), and Isaiah in his oldest discourse, iv. 3 onwards; that Amos and Hosea do not use such expressions is readily explained by their individual characteristics.

[3] This is gathered from a survey of all the passages that are here to be brought into consideration.

[4] Isa. ix. 5 f.

[5] B. Zech. ix. 9 f., and essentially the same, Micah v. 2–5.

[6] Dan. vii. 9–11, 13 f., according to which other words, like ii. 44, are to be taken.

very vividly the "Elect One," or "the Son of man," as the one who in conflict with the altogether degenerate kings shall Himself commence the last judgment of the world, standing at the head of the "elect," and illumined as the Logos by the Spirit of Wisdom as none else.[1]

§ 351. The course of thought, once started in the direction of these anticipations and prophecies, ran forward into very distant and remote realms. When it had advanced so far that the mind ventured to take a closer view of the divine judgment of the whole present world, and therefore of the very last issues of the affairs and phenomena of the existing world of mankind to which it could look, the time had come to arrest the attention of readers and hearers by bold attempts to conceive vividly according to its inner necessities, and to describe artistically, the entire transaction of the judgment of the world, as the sublimest spectacle that could possibly open upon the sense and mind of man. What the great prophets had long and manifoldly sketched in brief words and fragmentary anticipations, that, by such attempts, was gathered up and illustrated; and so arose the most extensive and ingenious of the Apocalypses to which we have referred. If, however, we would note more fully the details which such grandly-conceived works of prophetic authorship could present, and actually did present, as all indications show, the following suggestions are offered:—

(1) A representation of the judgment of the world worthy of the immeasurable subject must bring forward in all vividness and reality the powers of evil and of good that lead on in the history of man to a last crisis, and must bring forward these powers as they are manifest not merely in particular families and nations, but everywhere in all mankind. It will do this, however, with the most realistic and impressive picturing, if it starts from an historic basis, and keeps in view matters of

[1] According to the Book of Enoch xlv. 3, xlvi. 4–6, xlix. 1–4, li. 3, and other passages of the oldest writing. Cf. *Abhandlung über des B. Henókh Entstehung*, p. 19.

fact and localities that distinctly suggest the necessity of such judgment. Now, in the first quarter of the seventh century before Christ there was, within the limits of Israel, no public event that in the higher conceptions of the national religion so manifestly demanded and deserved the punishment of hell as the continual offering of children in sacrifice to Moloch at the command of King Manasseh, and there was no place where this abomination so frequently occurred as Gae-Hinnom, *i.e.* the valley of Hinnom, south of Jerusalem. If, therefore, a man in prophetic mood would in those days depict God's judgment of the world more vividly and impressively than earlier writers had incidentally attempted to depict it, he would naturally introduce into the great picture of the world this same valley, first as the scene of the most flagrant abomination and of the agonizing cries of innocent children to God, and then as the scene where, when God comes to judge the world, the cruel slaughterers of children are condemned to the punishment of hell, while their last sentence sounds forth, "their worm shall never die, and their fire shall not be quenched;"[1] images borrowed from the idea of actual corpses, eaten of worms in the grave, or to be burnt by fire,[2] and now invested in such connection with a far larger significance. Moreover, Joel, having thought of the valley situated east of the temple as the valley of battle in the divine judgment, and having at once designated it by the name of the great King Jehoshaphat as the valley where "Jahveh judges,"[3] our prophet could also picture the Judge of the world enthroned there before the temple as the rewarder of

[1] B. Isa. lxvi. 24, words which subsequently in Enoch xlvi. 6 and in the New Testament in the like sense are often repeated, similar to those which recur in the same prophet, B. Isa. l. ii; but the picturings, B. Isa. l. 11, lxvi. 23 f., are the oldest of their kind in the Old Testament, and sound with so novel a tone that the writer must be supposed to have borrowed them from the work indicated above, and, moreover, the very words in the last instance, lxvi. 23 f., for in themselves and their connection they are very remarkable.

[2] The image of worms is, it is true, according to B. Isa. xiv. 11, taken from the grave; but the fire points to the custom of cremation once very prevalent in Asia, if such a custom had not already been introduced into Jerusalem, according to *Antiquities*, 154.

[3] Joel iv. 2, 12 (iii. 2, 12).

all loyalty and innocence, and from thence setting forth towards Gae-Hinnom as the punisher of all the wicked; as Ezekiel somewhat similiarly beholds the resurrection not everywhere in general, but only in a particular valley well known to him and his readers.[1] All this, no doubt, may be only a section from a larger portrayal of the judgment of the world; but at an early period it must have made such an extraordinary impression that it became customary to call that part of the Underworld (Sheol), to which the place of punishment of those overthrown by the Judge of the world was transferred, Gae-Hinnom, or abbreviated in Greek, Gehenna, and the valley east of the temple, Jehoshaphat, as is now sufficiently known.[2] In point of fact, a name for the punishment of hell so singular in itself is not otherwise explicable; and only as that abomination in the valley freshly inflamed the imagination could such a view arise. The writing itself also clearly belongs to the great unnamed prophet.

(2) Meanwhile such prophets, in picturing the judgment of the world, could very well interweave also the sentence of God against ungodliness, and the necessary overthrow of the great heathen kingdoms so conspicuous in power at that time, and so stoutly resisting the spirit of the true religion. Isaiah and his contemporaries, no doubt, were able to venture upon such picturings freely and almost always in simple discourse; but under Manasseh, and in most of the succeeding periods, this would be more and more difficult. So much the more did such prophets, in their grand and minutely detailed descriptions of those kingdoms with their conflicts one with another, and their common conflict against the true God, the Judge of the world, accustom themselves rather to figurative characterizations, employing names of strange animals that might form the special signs and coats of arms of these countries, and were reverenced after the fashion of the

[1] Ezek. xxxvii. 1, cf. iii. 22 f.

[2] Cf. *History*, iv. 55 f., 59 f. The Γέεννα is therefore not altogether one and the same with the old שְׁאוֹל, but only a part or so to speak a half of it.

heathen, and transferred to heaven as stars, or companions of the gods. Towards the close of the exile, the prophets introduced such names where they deemed it suitable into their common discourse, but at first they were found rather in the pictures of the conflicts of these powers of the world against the great Judge;[1] further proof of which is given in the similar cases of the Book of Daniel[2] and the Apocalypse,[3] as also in the example of Ezekiel, who indicates the powers of the world of his day and their conflict against the kingdom of God by the artificial double name of Gog and Magog.[4]

(3) Least of all could these prophets forget how certainly, amid all the dazzling splendour and all the tumult of the powers of the world, it is after all only spiritual powers that are obviously at work in history, and exercise upon the last decisive conflicts the most determinate influence. There was thus an immediate opening presented for medallions of this kind; on the one hand lofty, highly-coloured, enrapturing, on the other profoundly suggestive and full of meaning. To every earthly power corresponds a spiritual or heavenly power, in the realms of evil as well as good; as is subsequently expressed with so much definiteness in the Book of Daniel and in the Apocalypse. Satan, therefore, has an

[1] B. Isa. li. 10 and xxvii. 1; similarly Ps. lxviii. 30, lxxiv. 13 f. If the Leviathan and even the Behemoth, Job xl. 14–24, are understood of the great Assyrio-Persian kingdoms, it is explained how, after their destruction by Cyrus and then by Alexander, when in fact their broken remains fell as spoil and apparently inexhaustible food to the early oppressed nations, especially the Judæans, these kingdoms were regarded as monsters fed by God so hugely that they might serve as a banquet to other nations ("from the wilderness," Ps. lxxiv. 14), or even to the godly; whilst in the view that the Leviathan is the Indian tortoise "under" the earth, a glimmer of its ancient astronomical significance is manifest. How early these representations were employed is evident from Ps. lxxiv. 14; Enoch lx. 7, 9, 24 f.; 4 Ezra vi. 49–52; 2 Bar. xxix.; also Philo concerning Jonah xlii. xlv. Aucher. In wholly other fashion Isa. xxx. 7 alludes to Rahab; cf. also Ezek. xxix. 3.

[2] Dan. ii. 31 ff., vii. 3 ff., viii. 3 ff., where the names of such beasts change much, but only in keeping with the sense of the particular prophecy itself.

[3] Rev. xii., xiii. 10, 11–17, where this old custom is very freely handled, as side by side with the beast representing the Roman Empire, the second represents Satan, and the third the prophetic powers of the bad Trinity; but the Roman Empire was then as good as the only empire.

[4] Ezek. xxxviii. f.

army of spirits on high to which the kings of earth correspond; but as Jahveh, according to ancient reminiscences, came down with His whole forces of heaven to rescue His people in the old days of the community, even so will He then appear with all His heavenly hosts to vanquish that Satanic army. As early as the seventh century before Christ this must have been set forth in a grandly-conceived medallion-like representation, of which, amid the first difficult beginnings of the New Jerusalem, a prophet gives a slight and shadowy outline;[1] but the Apocalypse has also similar medallions.[2]

§ 352. The last earthly decision, at least in such conflicts, seems to the inspired glance to be now very near. Faith perceives as already close to the eye of the mind what in God it beholds as necessary. To him who is deeply bowed down, and who is conscious of suffering not as an individual in a special situation of life, but through the consequences of grave and universal error, and who struggles for divine help, the last salvation of all, and in it his own salvation, appears as correspondent to the divine righteousness necessarily near enough. Antiquity is the more readily excused its shorter glance into the whole future, on account of its more limited glance into the whole past, especially in the community of the true religion, whose existence dated only from the time of Moses, and whose course of experience in the divine salvation had traversed successive stages of a wonderful progress up to the time of David. The individual, as he looked back upon such a past, might very well hope for the near approach of a universal decision in a divine judgment of the world; and many Psalms are in fact full of such glowing hope.[3] But the actual prophet of those declining centuries between the division of the Davidic kingdom and the destruction of Jerusalem, the more, as a recognised prophet in the

[1] B. Isa. xxix. 21 f.; but see further below.
[2] Rev. xii., xix. 19-xx. 3, 11-15.
[3] Ps. lxxv., lxxvi., lxiv., lxxxii., xiv.

community, he looked into the circumstances of all nations and into the whole future, must the more carefully be on his guard against exciting any wavering, or indeed delusive hope, as if the fulfilment of the whole contents of the divine promises would take place in a short space of time, or indeed within a number of days and years humanly determined beforehand. In the midst of the pressure of the unbelieving present, some events seemed to be nearer and more urgent than others, and a set time was fixed for their fulfilment by striking images and signs,[1] or indeed in a round number of years. But beyond this the prophets do not venture; and they scrupulously guard themselves against profaning the mouth of Jahveh from which they discourse by rash conjecture or arbitrary assurance. Not only in the splendid model of an Old Testament prayer of the congregation,[2] but also earlier in Isaiah, and later in Habakkuk, in the most distressing and painful days of the oppression of the nation by the heathen, care is taken not in any way to forestall the divine will in the predetermination of the decision of the whole future to a single year. But Isaiah on a given occasion had already declared how certainly, in the case of prophecy, the main point is its inner truth, not the time when this divine truth will be realized, and that such realization might progressively occur with increasing completeness and growing clearness.[3]

The divine truth of the predictions of the illustrious prophets who laboured till the destruction of Jerusalem having been attested in the main chief tendencies of the history of nations, and the final decision of a judgment of the world which had been promised being still in abeyance, there arose in the weary course of the centuries of the New

[1] As especially in the passage concerning the Virgin and the Messiah-child ("the young Messiah at the first stage of His development," *Prophets*, ii. 89), and those further belonging to it, Isa. vii. 14, viii. 4.

[2] Ps. xc.; in Habakkuk, however, what is rather suggested than set forth in detail must be properly apprehended.

[3] Isa. xxi. 16 f.

Jerusalem the new passion for measuring and determining more definitely the coming of the judgment of the world by artificial calculations, based upon what seemed to have something divine in it to the longing minds of the faithful in their manifold trial and affliction. The charm which lies in old sacred numbers, or in round numbers, appeared to grow in gigantic proportions when any particular support of divine assurance could in any way be added; and the further the judgment of the world, promised by the old great prophets, seemed to be necessarily withdrawn into the dim and distant regions of the future, the more eagerly was the glance gradually thrown back into the remotest past to find there the last support of such reckonings; whilst the learning of the time busied itself more and more with profounder inquiries relating to antiquity and the whole creation. Considered from the purely prophetic side, all these attempts are but the last aftergrowths of the indestructible truths whose roots lay deep in the old creative prophecy. But, nevertheless, they gave a wider sweep and a more extended range to the vision of the progress and stages of God's working in the world, so far as that working can be known and anticipated, and they accustomed such minds as would heed them [1] to a continually intent, no doubt, but yet calmer waiting for the whole development of the future. They therefore furnished, within the community of the true religion, materials not to be lightly estimated for a last and most complete development of the whole hope of the future, and especially influenced two of such artificial prophecies as now became more and more common, viz. the Book of Daniel and that lost book which first introduced a calculation as to the duration of the world on the basis of the idea of a world's Sabbath.[2] Moreover, the Apocalypse of the New Testament also received under its influence the peculiar structure and dress it bears.

[1] To which Christ Himself so obviously referred in the particular incidental sign, Matt. xxiv. 15.

[2] § 286. ["In a favourite work of that time, we may well suppose, the view

§ 353. 3. Everything in this whole subject, however, ultimately turns upon the idea of "Resurrection" to a new and more glorious life, and its application in all cases here conceivable. Now as much as this is at once evident, viz. that this idea in its primary and strictest sense, that is, as referred to an individual man, presupposes the absolute detachment of the earthly body from the spirit dwelling in it, or the so-called death of the man in the common acceptation of the term, and his rising up again by the possession of a new life. The word may be understood in this general sense, although the figure itself is taken from rising again out of the grave. It is therefore quite correct to say further, that man, whilst in this present outward body of his, may experience a kind of resurrection. For what is the new birth demanded by true religion of the more mature or grown-up individual man, but such an uplifting and resurrection of that which is immortal in him to a life raised incomparably above his primary sensuous life, and corresponding wholly to the will of God? The supreme truth of the progress of all divinely-human life in the world is thus shown to be a reality in the life of the individual man; the truth, viz., that only the second life is the more perfect, and at this stage the possibly transfigured life; while the "second death," occurring instead of it through man's guilt, is the last death. In this way we can mark the course of all human history in the present world by the example of the history of a single human life. But the Apostle Paul,[1] referring to Him who by His appearing and glorification has made manifest most completely for all future time the first stage of all truth

was expressed that the world, created in six days, with a seventh as a Sabbath succeeding it, would endure seven thousand years, and that the last thousand of these years would be the long-hoped-for divinely-blessed Messianic time. Thus is explained how the so-called 'Sabbatism' became a much and fondly cherished conception. Some trace of it is found in Rev. xx. 4–6; but the thousand years there spoken of may rather be regarded as a round number indicating a definite stage in the entire Messianic development of humanly-divine things."]

[1] § 327, pp. 292–4.

relevant to this subject, compares the new birth with its new life, as every man should experience it, to a resurrection in the midst of the mortifying and death of the sinful man. That, however, is a loftier style of discourse which, although it often occurs in John in a similar way,[1] may easily be misunderstood, and both Paul and John prefer not to apply commonly the term "Resurrection" to the inward transformation of the living man; the term "new birth" suffices for this when it has to be characterized in one word.

But if now that which may be called, in the more definite sense, resurrection, has thus the significance for man here meant only at the stage after bodily death which, according to what has been said above, we may characterize as in reality the second stage, it is evident that at this second stage, as soon as the transition is made from the individual man to the whole of mankind, the same duality of condition reappears which we were obliged to recognise on that first stage. For before the idea of resurrection and the idea closely allied with it and describing rather the condition that follows it,—viz. the idea of eternal life in its wider extension and last significance,—could become sufficiently intelligible and plastic, they must first make themselves in their immediate and primary power adequately perceptible in the experience of some individual man, and thus become wholly clear and distinct. This is the high significance of that conflict which we saw above in the case of Job; and only in such narrow and necessary limits would the ideas of resurrection and eternal life become a possession of the thinking and struggling spirit of man that should henceforth remain stedfast and could never again be lost.[2] It is self-evident also that resurrection as the mark and sign of the transformation to the higher condition itself, is the presupposition of eternal life.[3] But we have already seen

[1] In such utterances of Christ as John iii. 36, v. 21–24, vi. 27, 32 f., 35–40, 44–50, 53 f.; to which correspond in John's larger Epistle passages like ii. 25, iii. 14 f., v. 11–20.

[2] § 347. 2 f., p. 380 ff.

[3] If Job xix. 25–27 does not in so many words speak of his resurrection after

that the whole work of God in the existing world cannot close with the attainment of a glorious future by individual men. If, therefore, we pass beyond individuals to whole nations, we see the same thing accomplish itself which is accomplished in the case of the individual man within the limited period of his earthly life. As the aim and effort of man's spirit may at times vary, and may be directed towards lofty divine perfection, or sunk down to the gratification of merely human and ungodly desire, but at last the tendency of the entire life must be determined either to good or evil;—so is it in an incomparably higher degree with an entire nation. Since an individual nation does not embrace the whole of mankind, and in each nation a special, and in relation to the whole ultimately necessary, endeavour of the spirit may be predominant and with all sincere zeal pursued to its end; the last divine sentence will be passed upon it in accordance with such endeavour. Since, moreover, the chief question in a nation, however widely it may be spread and however long it may have existed, always relates to the attitude and firmness of mind of its individual members, the last separation in it will take place among and with reference to individual men, and one individual may ultimately comprise in himself all that is highest. In the nation of Israel we see this very thing occur in antiquity and in the most marked way, but also in a problem of such a kind as to involve the issue of all others, viz. in the problem of the true religion. And if after all earlier resurrections and transformations to higher efforts and life, among which the most powerful was that of the New

death, since the main thoughts and connection of the discourse do not make it specially necessary to give prominence to it; yet that resurrection is nevertheless self-evident in the import of this discourse, when he maintains that *after* his death and freed from the *flesh*, *i.e.* the earthly body, he shall see God. In the other passages cited, § 347. 2, a resurrection is, however, just as well indicated; the "satisfying" in Ps. xvii. 15, xvi. 11, points to an enduring condition, and there is no reference here, as in Ps. xc. 14, to a nation; and the awakening, Ps. xvii. 15, is, notwithstanding the brevity of the expression, plain enough, partly from the context, partly because the hope of awakening from death was at that time firmly cherished.

Jerusalem, ultimately only One arose out of earthly destruction, and He uplifted to heavenly glory reigns for ever as Christ, in order that, as the Bible teaches, He may lead many to the same resurrection and glory;—so the divine destiny of this one nation, and also an incalculably comprehensive portion of the divine will in relation to all mankind, are thereby already realized and fulfilled.

This whole incident of the resurrection and the eternal life that follows it, is accordingly repeated upon the third and for us last conceivable stage of the entire work of God in the present world. The nations also are not here the last. As they arose only after the creation of man and the first firm beginnings of his history, even so will the whole of humanity in its last needs and endeavours necessarily extend beyond them, until as some collective body it will attain its resurrection and new eternal life, as the Bible clearly enough indicates. Indeed, after every divine work in this existing world is accomplished, that only can form the transition to a new creation and a new world which, in harmony with the Bible, we anticipate but cannot describe as if it were a matter of experience, and towards which likewise, in harmony with the Bible, our last yearning desire ever points.

Thus, then, during the course of time the highest issue we can conceive of and strive after is being accomplished, in these three stages of resurrection and eternal life; that is, in the individual, the nation, and humanity. But the sole spring of the inner progress and gradual consummation of the divinely-human work lies in the spirit; and as everything in this work proceeds from God's Spirit, so everything man does in and with the spirit is thereby taken up, glorified, and made eternal throughout all three stages in such a way that it serves for the advancement of that work, and with the spirit lives on and works immortally. All this the Bible sufficiently teaches.

§ 354. As soon therefore as the prophetic spirit of the old true religion had fully recognised, in its high significance, the truth of a divine resurrection coming upon whole nations,

ideal representations of this great crisis of all the future as it might possibly occur were definitely sketched, and were soon of such rare grandeur, the conceivable details of a phenomenon transcending everything hitherto experienced being set forth in portrayals so sublime, that they already afforded in themselves the plastic material for larger or smaller apocalypses. One of the lesser works of this kind is that of Zephaniah.[1] Far more copiously, and yet according to his individuality in the simplest style and with much insight and comprehensiveness, Jeremiah also expresses himself upon this question. As Israel, on account of its incorrigible sins, must in righteous and divine punishment pass into exile for a whole generation or seventy years, but may, however, by God's grace expect a restoration;[2] thus also must all nations without exception, on account of the weight of their earlier or recent transgressions against the divine righteousness, suffer the just punishment of the true God; but all that are now subject to oppression shall each in its time experience a restoration.[3] But this thought of a divine restoration possible to all suffering nations, which might just as well be designated a resurrection, is given in Jeremiah with such brevity and yet with such confidence, that it may well be supposed an older prophet had preceded him in the representation, and had laid down the firm basis of such outlook into the future of the whole history of nations.

If, however, a prophet of those times, borne along by a loftier flight of imagination, apprehended all this in keeping with the idea of invisible spiritual powers ruling in the history of nations, and having special connection with the

[1] Cf. *Prophets*, iii. 14–26.

[2] *Restauratio*, שִׁוּב שְׁבוּת, as often in the Commentaries on the Prophets more particularly explained.

[3] Jer. xlvi.–xlix., and xxv. The remark made concerning this restoration, xlviii. 47, xlix. 6, 39, and in the last edition from Jeremiah's own hand only in somewhat different setting, xlvi. 26, could just as well be made with respect to all the rest of the nations suffering at that time from the arrogance of the Chaldees.

great earthly national powers, the occasion was thus given for a truly gigantic presentation and exact distinguishing in their deeper import and plan of all possible stages of the future. There comes a time when Jahveh, as in a great decisive battle, will visit and punish all the high heavenly powers gathered together against Him, with their respective earthly kings. Nevertheless, He will not at once annihilate them, but will keep them in the Underworld as well-guarded prisoners, that there they may have at least opportunity for repentance: then, after a long time, they will be visited by Him again to ascertain whether they will stand in the last judgment of the world or not. Three successive and very different future periods are thus definitely distinguished in the immediate great decision of the whole future; and this Apocalypse closed with that judgment of the world which, according to this higher intuition, must clearly be taken to be the last. Some grand conception of this kind, whose original written form is lost to us, had prescriptive authority for the following ages; a prophet of the first days of the New Jerusalem has preserved a short outline of it;[1] John of the Apocalypse also follows its type with his newly-animated picturing of the long intervals of the remote future, and his distinction of these three stages in the sublime history of nations.[2]

The same three stages in the absolute future of the history of nations, Ezekiel beheld in the midst of the dissolution and evident death of his own nation. But directing his gaze especially only to the earthly circumstances of his own nation at that time, he sketched with a creative glance that was entirely new the most graphic picture of a nation as good as dead reanimated by the Divine Spirit and conducted through those three stages to its consummation corresponding to the will of God.[3] The subject dealt with was the fundamental

[1] B. Isa. xxiv. 21–23; cf. the later very verbose delineation of the Book of Enoch, xc. 20–39.

[2] Rev. xix. 1–xxii. 5.

[3] Ezek. xxxvii.–xxxix.

condition and circumstances of the progressive salvation of an empire among men. If it is desired to know how such Apocalypses in all original vividness and full intuitive clearness arose, we have here a model example before us. These glimpses of the future, with its three stages of continuous development, John of the Apocalypse blends with those of the world of spirits into one, and in this way unites them together into the great picture of the ultimate future which he presents to us. For since what Ezekiel beheld was not in reality fulfilled in its whole grandeur and living power in those centuries that followed the time of the prophet, its fulfilment was more and more hoped for in the remoter future. Especially, however, by the striking truth of its representation of the resurrection did the first of these three pictures of the future [1] impress itself most deeply on the hopeful spirit. Yet since, according to Ezekiel's intention, this was not meant for the general resurrection at the end of the whole history of the world of mankind, but only for that of the immortal members of the community of the true religion, it was subsequently distinguished as the "first resurrection," [2] or as that of the righteous,[3] which gives but a first preliminary decision of human affairs.

Nevertheless a kind of resurrection of the community in a spiritual sense, not at variance with Ezekiel's prophecy, had actually occurred in the New Jerusalem at the end of the Babylonish exile. Not in vain had the earlier prophets and the voices yet more powerful of prophets who were still recent, summoned the nation to repentance and the new birth and a life that was wholly in God; the community, supposed to be dead, arose in truth like shadows from the Underworld. But when this newly arisen community soon after its first days was on the point of sinking back again as if into the second and therefore eternal death, the same younger prophet, who

[1] Ezek. xxxvii. 1–14. [2] So Rev. xx. 5 f.

[3] So Luke xiv. 14; but already had the same thing been described in Dan. xii. 1*b*–3 in freer words. The word πρῶτον, 1 Thess. iv. 16, the sense of which returns in another connection in 1 Cor. xv. 23 f., is also thus explained.

wove the beautiful garland of sublime utterances concerning death and immortality often mentioned before, and who was one of the last of this Old Testament time of new revival of prophecy in its old efficacy and power, admonishes the community with all the fire of his eloquence, by the power of the divine life even in the midst of death, not to despair where there is no true ground for it, but on the contrary, more closely considered, there is the most legitimate hope of advancement to eternal life.[1]—But it is in the main in this last splendid period of the Old Testament nation, and in this morning-glow of a new day for the community of the true religion which should form the transition to its last consummation, as if the ancient dead in all the immortal elements of their being were about to rise to a new life. Indeed, the language of the poets when this subject is touched upon becomes now altogether different, and sounds another note.[2]

§ 355. Thus, then, the truths, the hopes, the anticipations, which alone complete in the province of the true religion the full circle of faith, had already been so perfectly developed on all sides before the time of Christ, that at first sight it might appear that scarcely anything was yet wanting. The deficiency which in this community clung to the oldest form of faith was now in the last centuries before Christ fully removed. Without belief in something absolutely immortal, and as such superior to all temporal change, no true religion can exist. But in the founding of this national community the true God Himself, apprehended in all the fervency of faith, seemed in this respect to be sufficient, without in any way eradicating the germs of the old and simple belief that there is also something immortal in man. Yet only after

[1] Here are intended the noble words of B. Isa. xxvi. 14–20, which in the following two strophes of the discourse are further explained, namely by those repeated from Isaiah himself, xxvii. 12 f., that "on that day," the day of the great last harvest, not a single seed-corn should be lost.

[2] How different is the tone of the words in B. Isa. xiv. 9 ff. from even the animated picturing of the experience of the dead in the Underworld in Job xiv. 21 f.!

this community in its stability and its first temporal glory had passed the zenith, and this belief, deeply rooted but deficient, threatened to decline again under the heavy trials that broke in upon the best members of it, and more and more upon the whole body, was reinvigoration found, and found in all fulness through the superaddition from the side of faith in God of faith in a glorious immortality, first in the individual man, and at length in the whole of humanity. Upon irrefragable foundations, faith in its entirety thus renewed its power. Moreover, the centuries of the highest activity of the genuine prophets of the community sufficed to complete what as a blending of divine certainty and human anticipation most immediately belonged to their special province. This is manifest from what has been said above, and historically considered is of the highest importance. What was added in the centuries of the New Jerusalem was only a continuous series of developments on separate single sides of the indestructible intuitions already given, but nothing of a truly creative nature; and indeed these further developments were only such as arose out of the genuine treasure newly won of the true religion and its great prophets.[1] Since now, in those days also, the realm of spirits became an ever richer and freer field for the intuition of everything divine and spiritual, the breadth and boldness of such unveilings of the future increased, whilst the representations concerning heaven and hell as mere

[1] Carefully to note and firmly to grasp in its whole truth this last point is of special and large importance, because of the widely-prevalent errors in scholarship of the last hundred years. It has been imagined that the Zoroastrian faith in immortality as it appeared in Parsee writings was introduced into the nation of the true religion during its exile in the East and the subsequent Persian rule, and that thus the great change above described was accomplished. Nothing, however, is more opposed to all historical evidence than this supposition; and before any attempt to substantiate such supposition is ventured upon, there must be particular and exact investigation of the origin and different ages of all the Parsee writings which have been preserved; thus only will more valid results be attained. Concerning the Bundehesh, the *Ardâ-Virâf-Nâmak*, and the B. *Ahuna-vairja*, we have now the first minute examination in Martin Haug's works. On the whole, the same thing is true on this subject that according to § 221 ff., pp. 72–78, is true with regard to angelology.

places for the different classes of the dead shaped themselves anew. The ancient Hades became, half for the punishment of the wicked, half for the repose of the dead, a most extensive region; the Heaven ascending to the divine Throne in seven arches or vaults,[1] comprising also the old Paradise, became the abode for the most exalted of the blessed; as the Book of Enoch with the journeys of Enoch through all these regions depicts. But all this, so far as it is relevant to our subject, has already been set forth.

4. *Doubts concerning Immortality.*

§ 356. In the slow course of the last centuries before Christ, the higher life of the spirit in Israel assumed in general so unfavourable a form with respect to anticipations of immortality, that the truth already won stood in great danger of eclipse or disappearance. As with the individual man, so with whole periods of time, only when the mind is possessed by the consciousness of eternal life and sustained by its power, can there be a confident and ineradicable faith in the truths and hopes which such doctrine inspires. The period of the community of which we now speak appeared indeed, the longer it continued, so to darken the radiant summits of those hopes, and to withdraw the possibility of their attainment to such an unexpected distance, that many persons were disposed to despair even of their reality. Moreover, the mind was so powerfully swayed by wholly other impulses and so divided and weakened, especially after the later Persian and Greek rule, that it readily lost its fresh eagerness and desire to realize such hopes, and even failed to recognise them in their deeper truth with any degree of clearness. From another source also danger arose. For there is something so essentially exuberant in these very hopes themselves, that if they are cherished with an over-passionate ardour or groundless confidence they may readily

[1] Cf. 2 Cor. xii. 3 f.; Luke xxiii. 43; Rev. ii. 7.

lead to all kinds of extravagance and excess, which would ultimately impair their credit and destroy their beneficial effect. "Dead men do not live again, shades do not rise again," cried the voice of the same prophet[1] whom we recognised as the last great Old Testament herald of divinely-human immortality,[2] addressing those whose glowing hope might have led them to overlook the solemn earnestness of this subject, that he might warn them against employing the postulate of the resurrection of the dead where it is not legitimate, and that he might check all exaggerated expectation.

In the Old Testament we have still another clear witness as to the difficulty a peaceful faith may experience in fighting victoriously against doubts that spring up again so easily on the field of vision the future opens. Every man is subject to death as a contingency, the time of which he cannot calculate beforehand, just as he is subject to innumerable other afflictions; but who knows whether, in the manifest perishableness of everything mortal, it be really true that, as is commonly said, the spirit of man goes upwards to heaven, and the spirit of the beast downwards to the earth? This is a doubt which in the older and better times of the community of Israel would never have been so raised, but which now in the dreary march of these days of growing weakness and confusion had become possible, even in the face of conceptions of immortality developed to the highest degree, and possible just as Qoheleth expresses it.[3] It is

[1] B. Isa. xxvi. 4. [2] § 354, p. 411.

[3] According to the true reading, Eccles. iii. 21, cf. xii. 7. It is to be particularly noted that this doubt is not found in the Book of Job, where most of all one might expect to find it, nor elsewhere in any older book of the Old Testament. [In the *Dichter des Alten Bundes*, ii. 275–6, to which Ewald here refers, he says in the exposition of Ecclesiastes, "Upon the separate continuance of the human spirit many, it is true, build their hope, but no one can know whether such is the fact; rather does one event and destiny, viz. suffering and death, happen to all men without distinction, and after death follows the dark Underworld (ii. 14, iii. 18–21, v. 19*a*, vi. 6, viii. 7, ix. 2–6, 12, x. 14, xii. 5). Already ideas of the immortality of the spirit, firmly developed, pressed in upon the thought; but the delicate fragrance of the wonderfully

the same doubt which to-day is still raised, nay, is absolutely unconquerable wherever the light and power of the true religion are much obscured or wholly extinguished. In the meanwhile, since in Qoheleth's time the community abounded with men who were morose, gloomy, and desponding rather than merely frivolous and utterly wicked, the aim of his writings was to counteract their influence by diffusing a spirit of cheerfulness, and commending patience and the joy of an innocent life as the gift of God. Giving prominence indeed very distinctly and emphatically, even as such doubters did also, to the frailty of human existence, the repugnance that is felt amid the stir of life to the gloom of death, the sharp antithesis between life and death, and the necessity of using well the passing moments of health, he yet demands, as the first result of his inquiries into human affairs, the wise blending of happy, contented enjoyment of present blessings with the continued remembrance of immortality and the last judgment of God.[1] This indeed is the true meaning and abiding lesson of this book, which can be missed only by those who neither understand it in its whole connection nor in its detail. Just then it was a suitable time to remind men of the privileges and joys of human life. In the earlier centuries this was not necessary; and indeed it is found nowhere in the older Scriptures, and here for the first time is commended with all emphasis. But Qoheleth, so far from approving on this account the doubts that in his day strongly prevailed, altogether rejects them at last. Moreover, as this didactic

sublime anticipations with which the Book of Job and several Psalms had suffused these ideas, was almost wholly lost in the new long darkness of those centuries; and because the conceptions which prevailed upon the subject at the time were too gross and sensuous, as were perhaps those of the Pharisees, the old Hebrew consciousness, alternating with a kind of inquiring and doubting speculation, here defends itself against them, and ventures upon the bold attempt of not despairing even if these hopes concerning the future life should be mistaken; and in reality hopes built upon the future life might readily become obscure and troublesome, as an arrogance which contemned too much this present life found its way into their midst."]

[1] Eccles. ix. 7, xi. 9, xii. 1, vii. 12 f.

poet nowhere proceeds from the point of view of those lofty Messianic truths which alone [1] form the most powerful impulse and support to a hopeful anticipation of the future, but rather loves in calm and discursive reflection to survey simply the things of the present, it may very clearly be seen in his whole work, how in spite of all these chilling doubts the inquiring thought nevertheless cannot abandon the ideas of immortality and the judgment of the world. It is the drama of Job almost that is reproduced here in calm and dispassionate inquiry. In the outset and afterwards, Qoheleth speaks concerning death and the Underworld almost as Job did before his moment of regeneration,[2] and even as Job he cannot ultimately dispense with the glance beyond death to God as the last Judge of all human conduct.

How largely in the following age Qoheleth's dispassionate and more prudent regard to the things of the present grew into favour, and even threatened seriously to degenerate more and more into a refined self-seeking and mere sensuous enjoyment of the moment, a paragraph in the Book of the Son of Sirach shows clearly enough.[3] Taking a further step upon this path, it is not to be wondered at that the Sadducees also, misled by the later Greek wisdom, proceeded at last to the denial alike of the world of spirits and of immortality, and foolishly sought to confirm this denial by an appeal to the Pentateuch, as if the Pentateuch justified it. But further discourse on this subject is not now necessary.[4] Survivals of such doubts of all kinds continued to show themselves, intermingled afresh with Greek wisdom, down to the time of the Apostle Paul.[5]

[1] § 348, p. 384 f. [2] It is seen especially in Eccles. ix. 5 f.

[3] The paragraph in Ecclus. xiv. 11–18 is here meant,—a section complete in itself, where especially the ἀπάτησον τὴν ψυχήν σου (ver. 16) pained many old readers, and was on this account altered. But the expression accords only too well with its context. Nevertheless, this speaker of proverbs points also at the end of the book (cf. *Jahrbb. der Bibl. W.* iii. p. 132 f.), xvi. 1–20, to the eternal divine retribution with somewhat of a Messianic colouring of thought.

[4] Cf. *History*, v. 278.

[5] Taking 1 Cor. xv. 35, 2 Tim. ii. 18, together with Acts xvii. 32.

§ 357. Against such doubts and denials, those who were really the more pious members of the community bravely contended with the greatest firmness of conviction. A rich abundance of literary works was the result. But none of the later writings of these centuries down to the second destruction of Jerusalem, and even to the war of Hadrian, is so celebrated, and, as originating in the last century before Christ, exerted so powerful an influence in upbuilding the truth of the doctrine of immortality, once more fallen into decay, as the Book of the Wisdom of Solomon. This work is also replete with a rare instructiveness, in that with courageous candour and startling but eloquent truthfulness it exposes to view in aptest words the innermost thoughts of the deniers of immortality.[1] From this is seen as in a great living picture what immense progress unbelief had made at this time in the educated world, and how those who were most powerful in wealth and dominion did homage to it. Were they heathens or degenerate sons of Israel? No distinction is made, based on such differences among them; and in any case, sons of Israel were sufficiently numerous in their midst. Indeed, it is just as if the unbelievers of that most brilliant period of Græco-Roman antiquity resembled the unbelievers of our own day.

But all who, like this gifted author of the Book of Wisdom, fought valiantly against unbelief, laboured under two defects. No one can more eloquently express what faith in immortality in its transfigured sense must mean for man than this preacher of wisdom. But he suffers from an over-straining of faith and an extravagance of fancy. He divests the eternal powers of creation (Nature) of too much of their real character, and carries over what is divine and immortal to objects in which

[1] Wisd. i. 16–ii. 20, v. 3–13. It has been supposed that the first picturing has in view the early Christians and Christ Himself as the "Righteous man," i. 16–ii. 20; but this supposition, futile for other reasons, is disproved by the second discourse of these unbelievers, here interposed, when the judgment of the world has overtaken them, v. 3–13, where they do not in the least refer to Christ in their confession.

they are not immediately recognisable by man.[1] He may be considered as an Essene; he would then be one of the earliest and most accomplished of them, nevertheless his Essenian asceticism (*Sonderwesen*) was greatly to his disadvantage. A morbid tendency[2] enters so inseparably into the reflections and faith of this book as to distinguish it greatly from the writings of the Old Testament, which are both earlier in point of time and spring from a wholly different spirit: it cannot therefore serve as a pure type of doctrine. In a very different way does there shine forth in the Second Book of Maccabees a glimmer of faith in immortality. Here there are brave champions in the stern conflicts against the heathen and upon fields of battle, who, inspired by the eternal truth of genuine religion, and impelled by reverence for its holy law revealed in the Scripture, joyfully meet death and thus attest most effectively what real force resides in this faith.[3] But in the greater part of the community, the faith that is historically manifest is mixed with all kinds of rude popular superstitions, which, unless faith is maintained in its pure elevation, may perversely be derived from it,[4] or readily made in substance to agree with it.[5] The purely spiritual, invisible, and mysterious objects with which it was conversant, exposed it the more fully to such danger; since in the condition and

[1] How one-sided and erroneous are the views respecting the children of wicked parents, iii. 12, 16; and how groundless those concerning the children of pious parents, viii. 19 f.! The last passage is best explained by the mere antithesis; there is no need to think of Egyptian metempsychosis, although the conception itself may be Egyptian. Cf. 4 Macc. xvii. 6, xviii. 7–9.

[2] As in vii. 10, where in direct opposition to the many earnest admonitions of the Son of Sirach even bodily "health" itself is thrown into the shade.

[3] 2 Macc. vi. 26, vii. 9, 11, 14, 23, 35, cf. vii. 11, xiv. 4, 6.

[4] We mean here the commendation of the money-offering paid to the priests for the intercession on behalf of the dead, who died as members of the community indeed, but not without guilt, 2 Macc. xii. 39–45. This custom was manifestly new, and on this account was made so specially conspicuous.

[5] Here are meant the visions of earthly events pictured in the skies, or the apparitions of angels, 2 Macc. ii. 21, iii. 24–27, v. 2, x. 29, xi. 8, and the importance attributed to them in the narrative. This also is new.—The Third Book of Maccabees no longer speaks at all of the "hope of Israel," as it is called in Acts xxviii. 20.

strength in which it now appears, faith, in its more general aspects, had not, like faith in the true God, passed victoriously through all manner of trials and obstructing errors from the primitive ages downwards, but for the great mass of the people was comparatively new. According to all indications, this Second Book of Maccabees sprang from Pharisean faith with its intense spirit of nationality, as it existed in conflict with Sadducees and Essenes about a hundred years before Christ, and before it had deteriorated with such gradual and increasing degeneracy. For Pharisaism, though one-sided and defective in its very origin, was not then of the type that prevailed in the time of Christ.—In the Fourth Book of Maccabees, which did not arise till the age that immediately preceded the destruction of Jerusalem, the attempt at last is made to give to this faith a genuine Greek setting of philosophy and eloquence; but in the presence of that zeal for the holy law which was then to find its full and vigorous life, this faith cannot be said to attain its free and worthy expression.[1] —The Fourth Book of Ezra, the Second Book of Baruch, and other works written only after the destruction of Jerusalem, are of too late a period to have any influence upon the New Testament, or to be of any significant use in this discussion.

5. *The Christian Belief in Immortality.*

§ 358. Thus, then, only Christianity could bring the consummation to which all the mighty spiritual labours, hopes,

[1] The most important is the belief in the ascension of the three patriarchs, 4 Macc. v. 35 f., xiii. 14–16, xviii. 23, cf. vi. 22, ix. 8, 22, x. 4, xii. 12, xvi. 13, xvii. 18 f. (according to an allegory of the words in Deut. xxxiii. 3). The profounder words, vii. 19, xvi. 25, sound like an addition by a Christian hand. [In the *History*, v. 485, Ewald says of this book, "Its main purport is by means of the most glowing delineation of the stedfast endurance of the pains of death, and of the everlasting divine glory awaiting those (Maccabæan) champions of the law, to exhort others to like endurance and like victory. . . . It fulfils its aim so perfectly as to be unsurpassed; and its descriptions could hardly have been more forcible even for the Christian martyrs. The whole work is issued as a grand address to the children of Abraham, and we seem to have in it almost the solitary example, though on a scale of uncommon grandeur and art, of a Judæan sermon."]

and yearnings of the great prophets from the time of Moses and David pointed,[1] and which nevertheless they were neither able of their own will, nor did they propose, to introduce. But this consummation was brought when of all those manifold hopes designated Messianic, the special burden, the coming of the Messiah,—in itself for a long period the most powerful and inspiring of them all,[2] whose incomparably high significance made it more and more the one centre and goal of aspiration in the course of the centuries,—was actually realized in Christ as only He could realize it in the midst of the stream of divinely-human history. For if under those sublime seers the whole realm that comprehended this wide circle of truths and hopes had been on all sides so wonderfully broken up as in tillage, and made fruitful, and everything lay ready to harvest and waited only for its Lord; yet He Himself must first come and perfect what in this wide circle He alone could and did in reality perfect by His earthly appearing. Then it was that with this sure beginning of consummation, a bright light was kindled whose rays illumined this whole varied realm, and clearly revealed all that was sound and healthy in it, and that might ripen to the perfection the entire body of truth should attain. Then, too, immediately after the glorification of Christ, whose light irradiated it anew, this whole circle of truths was for the first time absolutely and fully closed; a brief summary of all that was yet to be expected in the future was soon given;[3] and everything that had still a pure and imperishable import to the Christian spirit awoke to new life. Moreover, when already the high noon of the apostolic age had passed, and the repose of the world, and especially the Christian part of it,

[1] §§ 347–355, pp. 376–414. [2] § 348, p. 384 f.

[3] This short summary which the apostle gives on a definite occasion, 1 Cor. xv. 20–28, is as to its source to be taken in the same way as the evangelical narrative he communicates in xi. 23–26; it had then a firm established acceptance in the Church of long standing, and everything elsewhere preserved in the New Testament, inclusive of the Apocalypse, that bears upon these hopes, agrees with it in reality upon all essential points.

had been profoundly disturbed, and the question of the meaning and compass of all unrealized hopes forced itself upon the attention with redoubled power; then we see John of the Apocalypse address himself to the task of giving a synoptical survey of all the still significant and certain hopes of Christianity,—a synoptical survey that proved as comprehensive and immediately adapted to the needs of the time as it is graphic, and that remaining for all succeeding ages the best Christian unveiling of the whole future has rightly been preserved in the canon of the Bible.

§ 359. I. Turning our attention now to what Christ did by His appearing and work for the reanimation and advancement of these hopes, we find three things that are carefully to be distinguished, each of which is fraught with the highest significance.

(*a*) In the first place, it is obvious that Christ enters at large into the true meaning and proper end of these hopes, that with the most perfect and ready assent of mind and the purest aim He may promote their realization. He who thus practically accepts them must desire to expedite the course of the whole way of man to God; he must not only keep that way so far as it is already known, but must also seek the removal of all hindrances that obstruct it. The Baptist, it is true, had just previously attempted this task in advance of Him; but it is for Him as Messiah, without mistaking or destroying anything that already in this community tended towards the purification and advancement of this way, to initiate and establish firmly for all who would follow Him that perfection of activity upon it which alone can lead to its ultimate goal. Thus in reality did He proceed, as the first pioneer of this consummation, keeping steadily in view in all things the last aim of this way, calling all to Himself who desired the same consummation of divinely-human things. Since, however, his purpose was to become the leader for the whole of humanity, He gave in detail instruction, illustration, admonition of the most positive kind, as to the means by

which men might enter into the kingdom of God, and He introduced the first realization of His teaching by founding His own community. What is all this but a sure pointing towards the whole issue of human ways to God, and an actual beginning for Himself and others of this consummation demanded by the will and work of God?

(*b*) Moreover, He promoted these hopes by the firm confidence, always associated with His conduct and example, that every one who walks upon this way towards the consummation already while still in this mortal body lives and abides in God;[1] has to fear neither death nor all the sufferings of the world;[2] and whatever he may accomplish in harmony with God's will and purpose enters with him into the blessedness and the infinite work of God Himself;[3] all his temporal work therefore being comparable to a seed-corn which must first spring up and bear fruit upon the field of the divine activity in the world.[4] Nay more, notwithstanding the infinitude of God's work in the world, every good deed even the smallest is not lost,[5] whilst wicked men with all their grasping and toil have already received their reward, that is, have no reward to expect in the future.[6] What firm bulwarks of defence are here for such as take and prosecute the way to the glorious consummation! But Christ raised them all as well by His instructive word as by the example of His own life itself.

(*c*) Finally, although His work was absolutely unique and in itself the most arduous that had been attempted in all history, His course in it was not only stedfastly progressive, but ever absolutely the right course. With ever-present consciousness of the limits of all bodily life and of the divine

[1] 1 John ii. 17.
[2] Matt. x. 28, 39, xvi. 25; Luke xvii. 33, xxiii. 43.
[3] Rev. xiv. 13.
[4] John xii. 24 ff.
[5] Matt. x. 40, 42, xxv. 40, 45; Mark xii. 41–44.
[6] Matt. vi. 1, 3, 5, 16; Luke vi. 24. We cite here only a few chief passages by way of example from what, more closely considered, is an inexhaustible fulness.

law of the progress of the whole system of the world, He did not attach His Messianic mission to Himself as mortal man or to the duration of His earthly life, nor did He leave its subsequent direction to His own nation or race, or even to some distinguished friend or disciple. Surely, comprehensively, distinctly He saw beforehand the never-ceasing progress of the humanly-divine work in the world, and on the fitting occasion before His departure from earth He definitely foretold how from His advent and effective earthly term of labour onwards this work would for ever advance, and what would be the issue of the whole human way to God. Such foreannouncements entered into and characterized all His teaching and life; but after His ascension they were summarized with special care, and were accepted as one great prophecy for the whole future of the kingdom of God.[1] It cannot be questioned, indeed, that there were moments when Christ discoursed thus at large concerning the future. Like all genuine prophecy, the prophecy of Christ starts from the immediate future, opens the right outlook into it, and offers the right counsels as to avoiding impending dangers; but it also directs its glance onward with the same certainty to the remotest future and to the end, inevitable in our thought, of this whole existing era of the world. What now is this definite and sure direction of the vision to the glorious future of the whole development of the kingdom of God, and to the end of all ways to God, but a further and powerful stimulus to the real advancement of all men towards this end? The eternal hopes of all genuine religion were indeed actually reinvigorated thereby as they had never been before, and the whole group of them, formed as it was from the higher struggles and conflicts of the divine spirit in humanity since

[1] Matt. xxiv. f. This passage from the "Collected Sayings," essentially the same in all the first three Gospels, embraces unquestionably the actual utterances of Christ Himself before His earthly life closed. Nothing in His other sayings contradicts it; and the same expressions were employed in the earliest Epistles of the New Testament and in the Apocalypse as a firm, well-known, underlying basis of all Christian contemplation of the future, as long since I have shown.

the beginning of all ancient time, was so winnowed and purified as to become a great and imperishable boon for the whole subsequent development of the kingdom of God.

All this worked together, therefore, by the mere advent of Christ, in the establishment of a faith in immortality and the judgment of the world more stedfast, more definite, more comprehensive than had ever before been known. The Christ who in His historical appearing traverses this earth is the testimony and proof of the future of this world of men, and the Judge of all its conduct and effort. How much more would He necessarily be so contemplated by His disciples after His ascension, and draw the faith of men to Himself, as the whole New Testament declares!

§ 360. II. But only after this ascension to glory, in calm retrospect upon the rare wealth of anticipations of the future received from all the previous ages of the community, could a complete survey be attempted of the whole existing treasure, involving a blending of the most recent purely Christian anticipations with such as were of earlier origin. How these attempts multiplied, and what final results were obtained, has already in general terms been shown. But this recasting and new presentation of the future must now be more closely considered in detail. At once, however, it is evident that the inner drift and character of these hopes and their whole tendency towards the great goal must remain as before; so definite and regular had been their rise and development in the pre-Christian age. Now the essential thing to note is that in the outlook into the whole future three great periods of time are to be distinguished in which as in ever-advancing stages the progress of humanity, *i.e.* of humanity taken in its narrowest and widest range, towards eternal life and also towards eternal death is accomplished in this term of the world's existence. That it is the glorified Christ alone through whom everything is so perfected from stage to stage that the power of His own glorification more and more and in ever higher degree transfigures all that is susceptible of it, and carries it forward in this

existing term of the world towards the consummation of the work of God;—this is the specially Christian element in the outlook.

1. Of these three stages that embrace the whole conceivable future, the first reaches to the "first resurrection."[1] Foremost, at its head and front, stands He who in this very meaning of the word resurrection is regarded as the already Risen One, or the first Risen One in point of time and power; He who, just as He may be designated in time and power, "The First-born of all Creation," so in this place is to be considered, "The First-born from the Dead;"[2] the glorified Christ, the Logos, who ever since He appeared wholly in fashion as a man is seeking to bring all men to His own heavenly glory, and to form "a church of the First-born,"[3] which now already, amid all the misdeeming of the world and the sufferings of time, is being prepared to constitute that perfect community, which will stand forth pre-eminent and victorious at the end of this first period of the future. Three parts, of very different extension, are distinguishable in this first period. Falling back into the past, but truly beginning the new Christian time, is the moment of the glorification of the earthly Christ; at the end lies the moment of the glorification of His community, which is also the beginning of the second of the three greater stages of the whole future; in the midst, reaching to the second of the greater stages, falls the time of the regeneration of humanity.[4] As in less notable instances changes go on almost imperceptibly for a long period, till at length in some mighty moment by the rebound or accelerated impulse of the creative energy of the spirit the process is suddenly completed, so in this case. The transformation of

[1] § 354, p. 411.

[2] According to Col. i. 18, cf. 15; and so Rev. i. 5 only a short time later.

[3] Heb. xii. 23 in extremely artistic picturing.

[4] [That is to say, the first of the greater stages of the whole future reaches up to the first resurrection, and includes as its starting-point (1) Christ's glorification; as its intermediate incident (2) the regeneration of humanity; as its close (3) the glorification of the Church.]

the individual man, progressively advancing from the time of the creation, culminates at the moment of Christ's ascension to glory in the realized possibility of the exaltation of One; and in the new transformation of humanity initiated and conditioned by that event this moment is repeated,[1] when the Church attains as conspicuously its wondrous glorification. Meanwhile, in the interval between these two mighty moments, humanity is prepared for its final change by means of the Church Christ founded. Thus, then, the conclusion of the whole first period, the first of the greater stages of the future, coincides with the coming of Christ in glory, or the Parousia.[2]

How the long interval of trial and conflict for the faithful is filled up, Christ Himself had already vividly foreshadowed;[3] and how after a tedious struggle of two powers irreconcilably opposed to each other, a last desperate and arrogant conflict of the evil power hastens its own complete and violent destruction, this also, by reference to the Book of Daniel, Christ had hinted at, designating such an extremity of audacity on the one side, and of distress on the other, as the approaching beginning of the end.[4] Starting from such views, and seeking to blend the whole fulness of Old Testament prophecy with the Christian, the conception was very early formed of an antichrist who in conflict with Christ must previously be overthrown before at the moment of the Parousia the full victory of Christ and His disciples should be won.[5] If the character-

[1] The ἐν ἀτόμῳ, ἐν ῥιπῇ ὀφθαλμοῦ, 1 Cor. xv. 52, is to be considered as here applicable, as also Matt. xxiv. 27.

[2] According to 1 Cor. xv. 23, and prior to this, and more copiously, 1 Thess. iv. 4–17; in the Apocalypse this period extends to xx. 3. Whilst elsewhere the expression παρουσία prevails in the New Testament everywhere, as in 1 John ii. 28 and 2 Pet., the 1 Pet. i. 7, 13 explains it by ἀποκάλυψις, a word which Paul also uses instead of παρουσία [2 Thess. i. 7; 1 Cor. i. 7].

[3] Matt. xxiv. 4–28, and elsewhere as occasion offered.

[4] Matt. xxiv. 15.

[5] According to 2 Thess. ii. 6–12, where only the name antichrist is wanting, as it is wanting accidentally everywhere in the New Testament excepting where its import is at last in a freer sense doctrinally expanded by John, 1 John ii. 18, 22, iv. 3; 2 John 7. Much that belongs to these anticipations and picturings, and is very briefly mentioned in the New Testament, was copiously

istics of this antichrist were derived from different older prophecies, nevertheless the genuinely Christian colouring was maintained, in that—following a fine image of Isaiah's,[1] and following also the actually known type and pattern of the historical Christ—no other sword of His could be thought of by which He would slay antichrist than that proceeding out of His mouth, viz. the word, the Logos.[2] And as this conflict could be depicted at the same time with that of Satan against Christ,[3] Christ Himself also having commanded watchfulness against coming false prophets,[4] John of the Apocalypse summed up most emphatically the whole true earnestness of this conflict in the image of the anti-Christian Trinity.[5]

§ 361. 2. According to the simplest conception of Last Things, the great judgment of the world would follow very closely upon the Parousia. Christ appearing in His glory awakens by His powerful summons His own disciples who have fallen asleep in death (of which a foreanticipation is given by John in the awakening of Lazarus), and also with them uplifts to Himself in the "upper Jerusalem" and transfigures such as are yet alive.[6] Along with them He subdues afterwards from the heavenly Jerusalem all the powers of evil, and begins the judgment of the world before the tribunal of which all the sinners of the world must appear to receive their eternal condemnation and be consigned to their second and last death.[7] This is the simplest conception as it imme-

dealt with in writings outside our present Old Testament now lost to us. We do not know, therefore, where the "trumpets" were placed, Matt. xxiv. 31, 1 Thess. iv. 16, 1 Cor. xv. 52, and in the Apocalypse of John, especially in connection with the Parousia, although no doubt they were taken from Ex. xix. 13, 16, 19, and Isa. xxvii. 13. Similarly fares the thought of Elijah's appearing before antichrist, to which allusion is made in 2 Thess. ii. 6; Rev. xi. 3–13.

[1] Isa. xi. 4*b*.

[2] Rev. xix. 15, 24, and already 2 Thess. ii. 8. But indeed Old Testament images of battle are intermingled in Rev. xix. 17–20, according to the precedent of Ezek. xxxviii.

[3] § 351. 3, p. 401 f.

[4] Matt. xxiv. 11, 24, cf. vii. 15.

[5] § 342, p. 358.

[6] According to 2 Thess. ii. 1 f.; 1 Thess. iv. 14–18; 1 Cor. xv. 23, 52.

[7] 1 Cor. v. 24 f.

diately took shape in the mind in the early apostolic time, partly from the great reminiscences of the Old Testament and writings allied with it, and partly from still simpler expressions of Christ Himself.[1]

But it was perceived that in this general view the whole compass of Old Testament prophecy was not sufficiently exhausted; and it appeared also that with it everything touching the state of the great affairs of all nations of the earth in their relation to Christianity was not said, which indeed the prophetic glance of the Old Testament had included or which otherwise was prominent in the earlier prophecy. Christianity had arisen in the Roman Empire; and how severely it had to struggle at once with this Empire, nothing originating in that age shows more clearly than the whole Apocalypse. It was known, however, well enough how many nations of the earth that were very unreceptive of the culture of that age, lived outside this *orbis terrarum;* and how little they loved the Roman Empire was at that time sufficiently notorious both in the North and the East. So the Apocalypse repeated what Ezekiel had once prophesied concerning Gog and Magog, but added also the familiar computation of the dominion of the Messiah as the Sabbatic period,[2] and formed in this way the prophecy that Christ after the overthrow of Rome and the first resurrection of His followers, would reign from Jerusalem, now converted to the faith, a thousand years, and so establish in the world, delivered from the power of the devil, the divine peace that was desired; until, at the end of this millennium, a presumption like that which brought on the close of the first period should threaten to terminate also this incomparably happier condition. Gog and Magog led by the devil would break forth yet once more, and seek to destroy the "camp of the saints." But as the audacious attack upon the perfected saints punishes itself in the destruction of all those from whom it proceeds, so would not merely they themselves

[1] As Matt. xxiv. 29-31; John xii. 32, xiv. 2. [2] So also Heb. iv. 9.

perish, as Sodom once perished,[1] but the devil also, *i.e.* the power of temptation and evil, now fully known in his absolute and utter perversity, will at last be destroyed (*vernichtet*).

It is not to be overlooked that in this way the gradual progress to the ultimate transfiguration of all things is represented in a very graphic form. As the great universal powers of evil,—the human, the twin-monster of worldly and spiritual misrule, as the immediate, the devil as the remoter, power of temptation, and Death also as the yet darker and more general power of corruption,—have become great in humanity, and through humanity in the world only historically; so through Christ and His disciples they vanish in succession upon each of the three greater stages of the future. Upon the first, the two human powers of evil vanish; upon the second, Satan vanishes; and thus nothing remains but that in the transition which the world's judgment forms to the third greater stage, the wicked dead called forth to that judgment and Death itself should also vanish, that the new world of eternal life and the transfiguration of all things may arise. But it cannot be denied that if this first resurrection be supposed to be essentially the same as what, according to primitive Christian intuition,[2] is regarded as at all events for the righteous the universal resurrection prior to the judgment of the world, something that strictly taken is contradictory is thereby introduced. For over against the too grossly sensuous intuitions concerning the resurrection which readily slip in and which were favoured by the Pharisees,[3] Christ had already very emphatically, and in decided opposition to errors of all kinds, showed that those risen again into the perfected world were not to be thought of as similar to men now existing in

[1] Nothing beyond this lies in the words concerning the fire from heaven, Rev. xx. 9.

[2] The first resurrection as described in Rev. xx. 4 is in the preparation for it and its accomplishment as in its consequences indeed, but not in its nature, much more circumscribed and limited than the second, xx. 11–15.

[3] § 357, p. 419 f.

the body, but as in harmony and correspondence with altogether different and purely spiritual conditions and circumstances.[1] Paul also, when the question came suddenly into prominence, and he felt himself compelled to enter into this mystery of things which never yet mortal eye had seen, definitely declared that the solution is found only as the body rising up again from the present sensuous world is thought of as a purely glorious body,[2] similarly indeed as Christ, the first of the risen ones, was thought of. Such an entire transmutation and spiritualizing of what is sensuous can, however, only be conceived as occurring at the end of this period of the world and upon its transition to a wholly new period; and it is not to be overlooked how side by side with it Gog and Magog exist for a thousand years, and then only the glorification of the whole world is to come, and how only the general judgment is to usher in an actual glorification of the whole world. Since now also the number of a thousand years is in the Christian sense of the prophecy not to be scrupulously retained, there remains finally only the truth that the last consummation will come by great stages of progress, and not everywhere with precise uniformity. This is, however, a truth which in general has only too much been confirmed from the time of John of the Apocalypse until to-day.

Now it is certain indeed that the idea of a final redressing of all great earthly wrong which man has occasioned, and a sure and subsequently stedfast dominion of the righteous over the foes of moral order, belongs to the oldest form of faith in immortality and the judgment of the world,—a form of faith that stands unshaken amid all the changes of earthly destiny; and this same idea derived from the Old Testament was also firmly retained in Christianity.[3]

[1] Matt. xxii. 30 f.

[2] 1 Cor. xv. 35–58, an example of the way in which the apostle solves independently the most difficult questions as they were quite freshly pressed upon him, and in which moreover he handles a μυστήριον, ver. 51.

[3] As this was also the gospel view, according to Matt. xix. 27–30, brought

Just as certain is it also that in the very circle in which this whole conscious and powerful incitement of mind towards the perfection of all humanly-divine things first arose and found its home, there also the final crisis it involves must occur. This lies in the congruity of all development; and as in the Old Testament prophets such anticipation is distinctly and constantly present, so it returns in the Gospels,[1] and becomes invested with special glory in the Apocalypse. But nevertheless how little all this is to be apprehended in a gross material sense, or even rigidly and arbitrarily, Christ's own words and deeds in particular, the Apocalypse also,[2] and in fact the whole of the New Testament, sufficiently show. Moreover, much that the earlier Old Testament prophets had foreannounced as the divinely necessary issue of the time in which they lived, was in its main scope subsequently so fulfilled that the Apocalypse, in the wide circle in which it embraces the Christian element of ancient and new prophecies relating to this subject, does not even once revert to it.[3]

§ 362. 3. The more sharply, however, Christianity distinguishes everything spiritual and sensuous in connection with this last and for all further development of the work of God in creation most important aspect of things, the more

back, to be sure, at once by the last expression, ver. 30, most certainly into its proper limits. The words ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ are, however, an addition of the last editor. In other respects cf. Luke xiv. 14 with the subsequent limitation, 15–24.

[1] As in the intimations of Matt. xxiv. 31; 2 Thess. ii. 1; Rev. xiv. 1–5, xix. 19; for the "army" of the Messiah is not to be understood of mere angels, since everywhere these surround Him as servants, heralds, and attendants, but do not form His "army." But very characteristic is the image in Matt. xxiv. 28 of the place where the carcase lies; it is ancient Israel in Jerusalem irrevocably lost.

[2] By the reference to all nations without exception, Rev. v. 9, vii. 9, xiv. 6 f.

[3] Especially the Old Testament prophecies of the return to the Holy Land of the sons of Israel scattered among the heathen (cf. *History*, v. 90 ff.). With the return from the exile and the rebuilding of the temple, these prophecies were as good as fulfilled, and they recur no doubt in the ascension of Moses, iii. f. and 4 Ezra xiii., but not in the Apocalypse or elsewhere in the New Testament. What foolish speculations on this subject are met with to-day!

purely and perfectly could it conceive and hold fast the promise of the third and last stage of the whole future, viz. the stage of the consummation and transfiguring of the entire existing creation. It is impossible to imagine and to tell in detail what wholly new and higher work of creation God will undertake with glorified humanity in the new world; but a twofold issue may here be foreshadowed. On the one hand, everything imperfect, disturbing, and corrupt arising out of the limits of the present world and inherent in it, will so be overcome in the new beginning then secured for a world appointed to much higher things, that it will not return. If particular passages of the Old Testament in the picturing of the perfected world always suppose its perfection limited locally to the circle of the old community, and therefore still intermingle images from the existing world of wars of nations,[1] yet the Apocalypse avoids repeating them.[2] On the other hand, in this consummation nothing is lost of all those divine possessions which humanity has historically won, but everything remains rather as an irrefragable basis of operation in that world; just as the present human world rests upon the basis of earlier worlds. Consequently the Apocalypse, in the vivid longing to behold that world in all its details, yet specifies[3] only such details as contribute to the new Whole, the like of which was never seen before. This whole is formed of what in the great world without, and especially in the human world, were already held to be imperishable possessions, such as the heavenly Jerusalem coming down now to the earth, the transfigured Temple, and everything else of this kind which the longing desire found here and there in the Old Testament. The principal representation, the descending of the heavenly Jerusalem to the glorified earth, certainly shows that from henceforth

[1] As in B. Isa. lx. 11–14, lxi. 5 f.

[2] At the most, the leaves of the tree of life for the healing of the nations recall something of the kind (Rev. xxii. 2), but how delicately and tenderly!

[3] Rev. xx. 1–xxii. 5.

all the discord that divided the world of mankind shall cease, and all the ardent aspirations of the faithful shall be satisfied.

Corresponding to this conception of the "new heaven and the new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness,"[1]—righteousness that has as yet nowhere on earth a home and a sphere undisturbed by man,—is that of the transition from the present to the transfigured world. In this transition the judgment of the world first divides in due form and for ever good and bad men and their works, incompatible with each other, so that of the higher world with its new creations now commencing its course only the good invested with glory serve as the groundwork, while the bad for ever perish without being able any longer to disturb the divine order. That this separation is so sharp that it admits of no intermediate condition, and cuts off all hope of recovery in that world of what has been lost by man's own guilt in this,—this[2] is nothing but a constituent part of that faith without which no true religion is possible. That Christ also has the ultimate and supreme authority to pass definitive judgment upon all human affairs,[3] is likewise but a just consequence and issue of His bringing to all men the only perfect example of the life they were all under obligation to follow; and as He will judge more leniently those who lived before His coming[4] than those who lived subsequently to that coming, so He will visit with severest condemnation such as have abused His name and perverted His authority.[5] That those who stand nearest to Him as Christians shall participate with Him in this office of Judge,[6] and that all genuine Christians shall judge the world, and therefore even fallen angels[7] also, is but a further consequence of their association with Him. But the immediate

[1] As succinctly given in 2 Pet. iii. 13. [2] According to § 343, p. 359 ff.

[3] A precedent for the last judicial words, Matt. xxiv. 31–46, is found in the Book of Isa. lxv. f., and especially in lxv. 13–17.

[4] According to § 332, p. 315 f.

[5] According to Matt. vii. 21–23, and analogous expressions of Christ.

[6] According to Matt. xix. 28, where the "Twelve Tribes" express only as elsewhere in the New Testament the old designation of the whole community.

[7] 1 Cor. vi. 2 f.

precondition of all this is that the gospel by which all shall be judged shall beforehand be preached to all, so that no one can finally excuse himself.[1] Such intuitions have only to be rightly understood to be at once accepted as alone correct. But what most of all attests the soundness of the chief ideas of primitive Christianity on this whole subject is that with the final destruction of all the wicked in the world as it was, and therefore with its readiness to form a new higher creation, Christ, the Judge of the world, is conceived as subjecting Himself to the Father as Son, and to God as authoritatively appointed Messiah after the fullest execution of His commission, and as again becoming simply what from eternity He is and remains, viz. the Logos. This is the view of the great apostle,[2] just as it is that of John of the Apocalypse,[3] and, as

[1] According to Rev. xiv. 6 f. And what else does Paul suggest!

[2] In the words 1 Cor. xv. 24–28. After Paul has said in ver. 24 that "the end" is when Christ delivers up His dominion "to God and the Father" (to God as man, to the Father as Son of God), he establishes it in ver. 25 by a free reference to Ps. cx. 1; then recalling that Death himself as the last enemy is not excepted, he establishes this also in ver. 25 by means of the πάντα of the kindred passage of Ps. viii. 6. Returning, however, to what he had said before at the beginning of ver. 24 as the great chief subject, he continues on the basis of this last Old Testament passage: "When He (Christ) shall say, Everything is subjected" (the last possible victory is won by Me), it is clearly manifest that by this is to be understood everything excepting Him, *i.e.* excepting God who subjected all things to Him, according to Ps. viii. 6; that therefore Christ cannot mean Himself as Him to whom all is subjected excepting God, but that then Christ Himself and God will remain as not subjected. Since, however, at last it must come to this that God is again all in all, the whole proof is completed with the words, ver. 28, "when everything, however, shall be subjected to Him (God), then will also the Son Himself be subject to Him who subjected the All to Him," according to the eternal predetermination, Ps. viii. 6, cx. 1. The sense of the whole and of every separate clause is thus clear. If Christ's word with which He solemnizes the last possible victory ran somewhat thus: "All is subjected by Me," the sense would be somewhat clearer still; and perhaps this is an abbreviation of an earlier familiar phrase (cf. Matt. xi. 27), but as it is the sense is not obscure, because ὅταν εἴπῃ according to the connection can only refer to Christ. Thus I return to that exposition of the words in ver. 27 which alone appeared to me from the beginning the correct exposition, although it is very bold. For Paul expresses himself as opportunity serves against such as confused or identified Christ with God Himself, and were not willing to distinguish both as in Paul's conception they are to be distinguished. That there might be such people in Paul's time, cannot be denied; but Paul is not fond of confusing ideas and dissipating genuine history.

[3] As certainly follows from Rev. xxi. 22 f., xxii. 1, 3, cf. v. 6. God and

is self-evident, of the whole New Testament. Into the glory of the new world the general judgment transfers all that it does not destroy. To that new and glorious world points directly the consciousness of the eternal worth of the good that is won, and the eternal rejection of the evil that is committed here; for this world of mankind is the first in the series endowed with free will. The eternal punishment of those whom the last judgment casts into the lake of fire and brimstone,[1] has thus its proper meaning, as the New Testament speaks of it even from Christ's lips [2] in accordance with Old Testament precedents.[3] If a new higher world is to arise upon the basis of this present world, evil that is known and condemned before the face of the Eternal Judge must for all eternity be cast out and punished. But evil is never to be conceived apart from those in whom it is embodied and works; although we cannot figure to ourselves in sensuous forms, even if it is expressed in sensuous imagery, all that is transferred to the glory of that new world. More particularly, however, this eternal punishment signifies what has been indicated above, that the boundary between these two worlds continuing insurmountable until the general judgment, what is wrong in the individual man here can just as little be amended there, yet Christ Himself as the Risen One may perceptibly come hither beforehand to amend it.[4]

the Lamb are well-nigh inseparably united, both seated on one Throne, in the former passage; in the last the Lamb stands between the Throne and the four living creatures and the four and twenty elders that surrounded it, and is therefore distinguished from God, and has a free and separate activity in the existing world.

[1] This image for the lowest hell is found only in the Apocalypse, xix. 20, xx. 10, 14, xxi. 8. Similarly, however, Enoch liv. 1–6; and certainly taken from Sodom, Gen. xix. 24.

[2] Matt. xxv. 41, 46, cf. xiii. 41–43, xviii. 8. [3] Cf. § 351, p. 398 ff.

[4] As Christ Himself once declared in the most definite and emphatic way, Luke xvi. 26–31. It would be well, therefore, that at last controversies concerning the eternal or temporal punishment of the wicked should cease, unwise as they have hitherto been. To continue them is to fall back more and more into the circle of thought on this subject of the Second Book of Maccabees with its Pharisaic tinge, § 357, p. 419. Especially significant for this question is, however, the sharp and extremely appropriate term of the *second* that is eternal *death*, Rev. ii. 11, xx. 5 f., 14, xxi. 8; cf. § 361, p. 428 ff.

§ 363. But without doubt the question of the transformation and renewal of the present world is not simply a question of the conduct and bearing of men in it, however much men immediately participate and are concerned therein. As certainly as the human world unfolds its history upon the basis of wholly different forms of the world existing before, so certainly this question rests upon powers, events, and transformations that lie far beyond the sphere of the human will. It is here the Apostle Paul in his far-reaching glance, anticipating the course of the whole existing creation that has suffered so long through the perversity of man, yearns after a more glorious system of things, which however is not possible without the ennobling and transfiguration of man.[1] And indeed what he felt in the depths of his spirit we ourselves may be still more sensible of to-day. For he starts from the word of the divine curse in Paradise itself, the reality of which we may mark in subsequent developments of human history. The onward course of evil, when once it has gathered up its strength in the world of mankind, is, in some portions of the earth and in certain directions, restrained by Christianity as a higher power, but the finest and most spacious lands are more and more devastated. Even where this higher power is at length held to be the supreme and sovereign power of all human life, the arts of war and corruptions of all kinds acquire an importance and a destructiveness never anticipated in earlier times. It may therefore truly be said, that along with oppressed Christians the whole earthly world subjected to the bondage of corruption sighs more and more deeply for the better transformation which can fall to its lot only by the gradual and higher perfection of mankind in the glory of the future. And that such trans-

[1] Rom. viii. 19–24 (cf. 2 Cor. v. 1–10), where, moreover, it is strongly enough indicated that even in this intuition Christian "hope" is the chief source of power; but to give such hope a place (ver. 20) in Paradise close by the curse agrees perfectly with what has been already said. How differently does Philo discourse on the same theme (*de prov.* i. 90 in the Aucher, i. p. 42)!

figuration of humanity has its stages of progress has already been elucidated from Biblical teaching.[1]

By what special power of renewal the last of these stages is conditioned, the picturings of the Bible, representing the transition of this system of things into that which is to come, do not more particularly indicate. The profound convulsion of the world is represented somewhat as some lesser convulsion which has already been experienced, and the image of this is found in the violent birth-pangs of the mother when her hour is come and a new life is ushered into being.[2] Nor does the Apocalypse go essentially beyond this.[3] The First Epistle of Peter first mentions fire as the means of the dissolution of this world;[4] yet this is rather suggested by an adaptation of passages of the Old Testament and the conclusions drawn from them,[5]—an early example of such learned inference and argument.

§ 364. Now with respect to all these prophecies, and still more also with respect to the Old Testament prophecies belonging to this province, the question as to fulfilment has

[1] § 354, p. 409 ff.

[2] In the oldest picturings, Joel iii. 3 f., iv. 15 f. (ii. 30 f., iii. 15 f.), Zeph. i. 13–18, and the later developments of them, B. Isa. xiii., the great convulsions of creation are spoken of; the image of the birth-pangs appears with creative force in Hos. xiii. 12, Micah iv. 9, and is repeated B. Isa. lxvi. 7, xxvi. 17 f., and leads at length to the image of "the birth-pangs of the Messiah and the New World," Matt. xxiv. 8, Rev. xii. 1–5, which had become a standing image before Christ. The earliest simplicity returns in Matt. xxiv. 29 f.

[3] For that the sea vanishes, Rev. xxi. 1, is but a particular characteristic of the transformation which is explained by xiii. 1.

[4] 2 Pet. iii. 7, and still more plainly ver. 11.

[5] Viz. as if the promise of the non-return of the deluge, Gen. viii. 21–ix. 17, must be thus fulfilled (and indeed such a progress lies in the fundamental law that a new divine world can be no mere repetition of an earlier one), and as if the punitive fire of the heavenly altar finds only then its fullest use, Rev. viii. 5, xv. 8, xx. 9, according to the Old Testament intimations of the cleansing and punitive divine power of fire for the whole world, Deut. xxxii. 22, and the ancient sacred traditions of the punitive power of the altar-fire in the sacred Tabernacle (*History*, ii. 179–180). There is no need, therefore, to suppose that the author has taken from Greek philosophers the representation of a last conflagration of the world and made that his pattern and model. For even if this were familiar to his mind, as it may well have been, it belongs to quite a different system of ideas and is of another spirit.

to be met. It is self-evident that the right answer to such question is more important here than there, and also that after well-nigh two thousand years it can be given to-day with far greater certainty than it could be given in the birth-time of Christianity. But in point of fact the answer here is essentially the same as there. Christ's express intimation ever forestalls us; God alone knows the day and the hour when all these things shall be fulfilled. But how far up to the present the immeasurable range and scope of these prophecies has found its realization, we may know. Nor will recent German obscurations of all past history offer more than a transient disturbance of our retrospect, and cannot in the least impair our outlook into the future. The growing and advancing confirmation of its whole body of truth, as well as of its original prophetic utterances, Christianity will yet behold, notwithstanding the later and the thousandfold earlier interruptions it has experienced, and in great part overcome. But our faith will gain new enlightenment and confidence in proportion as we patiently and clearly survey such fulfilment as has hitherto occurred in this immeasurable realm, and as we also distinguish what is essential from what is less essential. For just as by Christ's advent and the founding of Christianity Old Testament prophecy advanced to fulfilment in every vital point that could so far be realized, and as that fulfilment happened contrary to the general expectation of contemporaries, and was in fact even more glorious than the clearest anticipation could hope, so New Testament prophecies have hitherto been fulfilled far more gloriously than many suppose, and will obtain a realization at length that shall exceed in fulness and magnificence all that our visions of the distant future can sketch. It is the prerogative of the divine truth that lies in prophecy that by means of it fulfilment is promoted, if men are found who suffer the truth to work with its full energy; and still further, that as the truth develops in all fruitfulness with the infinitude of God and the measurelessness of creation, it leads to issues and results surpassing all that previous

knowledge could forecast. And if it is the mark of every healthy hope in this realm, immeasurable within the life of the individual man and of the whole of humanity, that it fills the mind with the highest confidence and the firmest faith as it glances upon the subjects of its expectation, and also that it powerfully restrains the glowing spirit where it might be too rigid and partial by the vision not wanting to it of the whole body of divine truths; so does it happen with the New Testament hope even in that most comprehensive presentment which it has found in the Apocalypse.

For this hope, after it had appropriated the wide contents of Old Testament prophecies as well as the loftiest and most expansive elements of the Christian prophecies in their absolute freshness, is pre-eminently the most powerful and eager, the warmest and most exuberant hope that any generation of men could ever realize. Anticipating in all certainty what was yet wanting in the consummation Christ brought, it beheld it in all nearness before the mind. After all conceivable perversity and sin in the ancient world has at this epoch culminated in the murder of the Son of God, the crisis has come that revolutionizes the history of the world. Pursuant to the eternal righteousness of God, divine salvation falls the more certainly to all who now at least believe in the Risen One whom Death has not conquered; divine anger and just retribution threaten the rest. This is now the faith, this is now the glance of hope into the whole future.[1] And when this hope, after the changes of fortune during thirty years, first threatened to languish somewhat under heavy and universal trials, the word of the Spirit, "in haste shall it happen!" came as a higher call to kindle it again to its first glow.[2] But as Christ's word had itself indicated everywhere its

[1] As all this is set forth in Rom. i. 17 ff., almost with the same warmth as according to Acts ii. 22 from the beginning.

[2] The ἐν τάχει is prominent first and last in the Apocalypse i. 1, ii. 5, xxii. 6, encompasses therefore the whole prophecy, and sometimes in the course of it is repeated in the shorter form, ταχύ, ii. 16, iii. 11, xi. 14; but at the end with more emphasis, xxii. 6, 12, 20.

proper limits, these limits were never forgotten afterwards. Paul restrains such as were becoming too eager and impatient.[1] The Apocalyptist, notwithstanding his making conspicuous the nearness of its realization, lays out the plan of his book in such a way as to represent in what less and greater stages it could only by and by be realized.[2] He seeks also for periods of time to illustrate this gradual fulfilment; and has recourse to round numbers which the Book of Daniel and similar works offered, and which were at that time readily apprehended in a higher sense. He determines more particularly on the one hand, as the age demanded, much that was important in relation to events and their order in time, which at first had been left somewhat indeterminate;[3] and on the other hand, he extends the range of the remoter future still further.[4] But just in this way the New Testament prophecy receives early that enlargement and wide referability which should guard it against all serious misunderstanding and mischievous application. If Christ prophesied, as the "Collection of Discourses" emphatically informs us, that that generation should not pass away before the fulfilment should come, it may be said, no doubt with justice, that the destruction of Jerusalem as the primary fulfilment occurred before that generation had fully ceased to exist. If, moreover, Rome was conquered amid great devastations by friends of Vespasian, a beginning of the fulfilment of the prophecy of the Apocalypse may be found in that event. Truth lies thus in the one as in the other; although its fulfilment may have stages and limits. This is shown more clearly in the New Testament itself, for if some would take too literally the

[1] In his oldest Epistles, 2 Thess. ii. 1–16; 1 Thess. iv. 13–18.

[2] Cf. *die Johan. Schr.* ii. p. 38 ff.

[3] Especially in this, that he refers to Nero that Antichrist Paul had left quite indeterminate as to nation and country.

[4] If one would appreciate the Apocalypse to-day, it may be said that heathen Rome intended in xvi.–xviii. has long since fallen, but from xix. everything is still future. Nevertheless, since Rome in the sense of the Apocalypse is but the primary image of all heathen power, it is evident how little the fulfilment is complete, and still less is there even until to-day the fulfilment of xiv. 6 f.

prophecy concerning Antichrist, the Apostle John himself[1] conclusively teaches that there may be many Antichrists, and diverse in character. When, however, about thirty years after the destruction of Jerusalem, the foolish doubts of immortality already condemned returned again very perniciously, in the case of many even in Christianity, because its prophecies in their whole scope and range seemed never to be fulfilled, the Second Epistle of Peter closed very appropriately the circle of Christian doctrine. From the elder Scriptures themselves it is shown[2] how little the ultimate fulfilment of all prophecy depends upon any determination of it according to familiar calculations of time. No doubt this late Epistle obtained its place in the canon on account of its teaching on this subject, and manifestly owed its composition, as well as its circulation, chiefly to the same cause.—And as the inquiry how, and how far, Old Testament prophecy was fulfilled in Christ and the New Covenant He established irrepressibly obtruded itself in the early days of Christianity, and the subject was sometimes prosecuted with great ardour; there occurred for the first time a close and careful investigation of the question which, as it continued, necessarily led to the formation of theories and schools of interpretation such as have in our day been still further developed.[3]

§ 365. The great apostle closes his short survey of the general judgment,[4] and of the transformation of the present world into the future, with the words, as weighty as they are brief, this will come to pass that "God may be All in All," as He was in the beginning of the whole creation; and He will be so since nothing now in the world hinders Him from forming wholly anew the fashion of the world in harmony with His own eternal will and work. The last infer-

[1] § 360, p. 428.

[2] 2 Pet. iii. 1–13.

[3] It is not accidental that in 2 Pet. i. 19–21 what is first touched upon in 1 Pet. i. 10–12 is again taken up only in another connection; this shows, moreover, that the writer of the Second Epistle had the First before him.

[4] § 362, p. 435.

ence may be drawn from the wording of this brief expression, always supposing God and the universe stand in that relation to each other which has already been indicated.[1] For that the brief phrase means, "God will then remain for ever alone," *i.e.* without any universe, contradicts the import of the words, "All in All," presupposing existence besides God, and indeed a manifoldness of it; and contradicts also true religion, since He would then be without the Spirit and without the Logos, *i.e.* would be the Creator no longer. Nor can it be meant that God will be "All in All" because He is dissatisfied with the all beside Him, *i.e.* with the universe as it was formerly; for then He would be an ill and defeated Creator, and we know what fruit for eternity and for a new transfigured creation this world may bear, and at the end shall indeed bear conformably to that judgment spoken of it by the Judge. The ultimate meaning of the phrase in its proper connection can only be, since the present world has fulfilled its purpose, the purpose foreappointed by the Creator, God will again be All in All in order freely to form the new world. The purpose of the existing world is, however, the perfect recognition and knowledge of the glory of God on the part of mankind, in order to their participation with more and more completeness and self-activity in His work; that thus glorifying Him as Creator, humanity may be uplifted into closer fellowship with Himself, and be in that fellowship ennobled and transfigured for ever.[2] If this aim is fulfilled, then by means of it the new world can and will be created according to the eternal nature and will of God as Creator,—the new world which has been previously prepared in the existing world, as that and all earlier forms of it were made

[1] § 231 ff. [Viz. that the universe is dependent upon God, and as His ultimate aim is fulfilling His purposes.]

[2] No Biblical writer expresses this, especially in accordance with the meaning of Christ Himself, so perfectly, so free from all obscurity, and indeed with such transfigured words, as the beloved apostle, and pre-eminently in the sayings of the glorified Christ, John xvii., cf. viii. 54, xii. 23–28, xiii. 31 f., xiv. 13, xv. 8, xvi. 14. But Paul's innermost thoughts are the same, Gal. i. 24; Rom. viii. 30.

ready by that which in each case went before. Yet, as every creature exists only through the Creator, and all temporal and eternal happiness of man is only the issue and outcome of His happiness, so everything comes back in the end to the glory of God as everything proceeded from it. Such, according to the whole Bible, is the truth and faith without which all human existence and endeavour would be altogether empty and vain, and must remain so for ever.

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